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COMMUNIQUE ISSUED ON MLADENOV VISIT TO POLAND

AU201944 Sofia BTA in English 1850 GMT 20 Apr 82

[Text] Sofia, 20 Apr (BTA) -- Today Bulgaria's Foreign Minister Mr Petur Mladenov returned from his two-day official and friendly visit to Poland. BCP and Bulgaria resolutely oppose the U.S. and some other capitalist countries' attempts to grossly interfere with Poland's internal affairs. These attempts cannot be described in any other way but as an overt violation of the generally acknowledged norms of the international law, the UN Charter, the Final Act of the European Security and Cooperation Conference, it is pointed out in the communique on the talks between Mr Petur Mladenov and Mr Jozef Czyrek, minister of foreign affairs of Poland.

Their assessment is that any sanctions on the part of the U.S. and some NATO states against Poland and the USSR are an attempt to destabilize the peaceful structure of the international relations and threaten the security in Europe.

Mr Petur Mladenov has stated that Bulgaria will continue to render full backing to Poland on the international arena, in defence of Poland's sovereign right to settle her internal matters all by herself.

Mr. Jozef Czyrek has thanked for the timely political and economic support Bulgaria has rendered to Poland.

The two ministers have discussed the possibilities for expanding the all-round relations. They have underlined the necessity of further deepening the political cooperation and have expressed their readiness to strengthen and develop the economic contacts.

Mr Petur Mladenov and Mr Jozef Czyrek have expressed the hope that the signatory states of the Final Act of the conference in Helsinki will turn to the constructive dialogue and will contribute to the successful ending of the Madrid meeting. The two parties to the talks stood for convening a conference on the questions related to the military detente and disarmament in Europe. They express hope that the Soviet-American negotiations in Geneva will lead to reaching an agreement and will contribute to strengthen the European security.

Bulgaria and Poland give high assessment to the USSR's latest initiatives for the limitation of the nuclear medium-range missiles in Europe, proposed by Mr Leonid Brezhnev. The two countries are ready to further have talks with all countries on the basis of equality. mutual advantage and non-interference with the internal affairs in the interest of peace and cooperation among the peoples.

Led by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, Bulgaria and Poland will continue to give their contribution to strengthen the Warsaw Treaty Organization and the CMEA in the name of the indestructible friendship and cooperation among the socialist community countries. In the communique the two countries' full unanimity of views on all the questions discussed is underlined.

TANCHEV RECEIVES POLISH ZSL DELEGATION

AU191607 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 19 Apr 82

[Text] On 19 April Petur Tanchev, Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BNAU] secretary and first deputy chairman of the State Council, received the ZSL delegation led by (Jozef Helm) member of the party Presidium and secretary of the party Supreme Committee. Comrade Petur Tanchev highly evaluated the ZSL's support of the policy of the Military Council of National Salvation to liquidate the consequences of the economic and political crisis and defend Poland's socialist achievements. It was stressed that the ZSL and BNAU will also work strenuously in the future to mobilize the forces of the European and the world agrarian public in the struggle against the arms race and for peace and social progress.

FIRST QUARTER SOCIOECONOMIC DATA RELEASED

AU201953 Sofia BTA in English 1840 GMT 20 April 82

[Text] Sofia, 20 Apr (BTA) -- An official communique has been released for publication here about the results of the fulfillment of the unified plan for Bulgaria's socio-economic development in the first quarter of 1982.

Emphasis is laid on the overfulfillment of the state plan tasks and calculations during that period. So, compared to the first trimester of last year, the gross profit jumped by 107.9 per cent, the net output-by 104.9 per cent, and the public labour efficiency-by 103 per cent. The volume of commodity output in industry went up by six per cent. Its increase in the different branches is as follows: power generation - 107.3 per cent, metallurgy and mineral resources - 108 per cent, mechanical engineering and electronics - 105.1 per cent, chemical industry - 103.7 per cent, light industry - 104.3 per cent, national agro-industrial union - 106 per cent.

For the last three months of the new year the national economy has received 11,145 million kwh of electric energy, 8,654 thousand tons of coal, 870 thousand tons of rolled ferrous metal /shaped/, 107 thousand tons of meat and 22 thousand tons of meat products.

The planned quantities of cast iron for processing, block steel, cold rolled steel and steel pipes, cement, lorries and some consumer goods have not been manufactured.

Compared to the first trimester of the previous year, two per cent farm produce has been obtained.

From all categories of farms the following extra quantities have been purchased: cattle and poultry - by 9.7 per cent, milk - by 9.9 per cent. The purchase of eggs has been let lower. [as received]

The construction and assembly organisations have done construction to the tune of 703 million leva. Fixed capital for 281 million leva has been run into operation. More than 2900 dwellings have been completed and delivered to the population. In general the volume of construction of sites for the manufacture of consumer goods has been fulfilled.

The income realized in transport has gone up by 6.2 per cent as against the first quarter of last year, and in communications - by 6.8 per cent.

10.7 per cent more commodities than planned have been manufactured and made available. The three-month breakdown of the services for the population has also been overfulfilled. Retail trade went up by 6.2 per cent.

It is emphasized in the communique of the committee for unified system of social information that in the period under review Bulgaria has fulfilled the tasks on the export, and compared to the first trimester of 1981 the export to the socialist countries has gone up by 13.9 per cent.

NEW FOREIGN TRADE COMPANIES ESTABLISHED

AU201420 Sofia BTA in English 1340 GMT 20 Apr 82

[Text] Sofia, 20 Apr (BTA) -- The "Khranexport" and "Bulgarplodexport" foreign trade companies have been established recently here. Different foreign trade centres, industrial enterprises, divisions of the national agro-industrial union and some of the agroindustrial complexes hold membership in them. KOOPERATIVNO SELO carries today an interview with Mr Filip Ishpekov, deputy-chairman of the Central Council of the National Agro-Industrial Union, on the subject.

Mr Ishpekov points out that these two companies are a new form of organization in the system of the Bulgarian foreign trade. They meet fuller the requirements of the economic mechanism for a direct link of production with the international market and enable the economic organizations to actually take part in the management of the foreign trade activities and in realization of production on the international markets. The members of the foreign trade companies can jointly plan, coordinate and aim their production activities so that they will meet the best the market demands with respect to quality and delivery terms, packing and assortment.

Dwelling on the nature of the new companies, Mr Filip Ishpekov stressed that they unify socialist organizations which retain their juridical independence. The membership of the economic organizations in these companies is absolutely voluntary, while the latter are juridical bodies with their own self-accounting and balance subjected fully to the normative acts operating in the country. All the funds created in the economic organizations will be available to them.

Mr Ishpekov also said that, in perspective, it will be possible to create foreign trade companies in some other industries, now serviced by the "Vinimpex" foreign trade corporation and "Rhodopaimpex" foreign trade corporation.

ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITH AFGHANISTAN ASSESSED

AU210935 Sofia BTA in English 0821 GMT 21 Apr 82

[Text] Sofia, 21 Apr (BTA) -- The April Revolution laid the beginning of a new stage in Bulgaro-Afghan economic cooperation. In 1979 there was set up an Intergovernmental Commission on Economic and Techno-Scientific Cooperation. An economic and techno-scientific cooperation agreement and an agreement on granting a new credit to that country were signed.

Under the credit agreement it is provided to supply Afghanistan with equipment and to render technical assistance in building projects of importance for that country. A factory for processing 600 thousand furs a year will be built in the town of Kandahar will be extended and reconstructed with Bulgarian assistance. One of the sites is a milk product plant. Bulgarians design the water-supply networks in a number of Afghan cities as well as in some Kabul quarters. Bulgaria has delivered to Afghanistan 240 trucks, 300 buses, 650 Autocisterns and I.C.E. trucks. In addition Afghanistan imports spare parts for cars, tyres, storage batteries, medicines, ready-mades, textiles and shoes. The most outstanding partners of Afghanistan are the Bulgarian firms "Balkancarimpex", "Industrialimport", "Pharmachim" and "Bulgarkoop".

An agreement has been reached for training 2000 Afghan students, post-graduates and practitioners in Bulgaria. The first group of 500 students arrived in Bulgaria in 1979.

FATHERLAND FRONT NATIONAL COUNCIL PLENUM HELD

AU201033 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 20 Apr 82

[Excerpts] A plenum of the Fatherland Front National Council was held at the Sofia Palace of Culture today. Comrades Pencho Kubadinski, Stanko Todorov, Tsola Dragoycheva, as well as members of the Fatherland Front National Council Presidium attended the plenum.

The plenum unanimously adopted the submitted proposal that the next regular congress of the Fatherland Front should take place on 21 June 1982, which will be the fifth anniversary of the Eighth Fatherland Front Congress. According to item two on the agenda, a decision was adopted at the plenum on the budget of the organization for 1982. A declaration was unanimously adopted by the National Council in defense of the Nicaraguan people's revolutionary achievements.

CPCZ CENTRAL COMMITTEE HOLDS SIXTH SESSION

Presidium Report 20 Apr

LD202230 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 20 Apr 82

[Text] The Sixth Session of the CPCZ Central Committee convened in the Spanish Hall of Prague Castle today. The session was opened by Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. Other participants in the session are members of the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission, heads of departments of the CPCZ Central Committee, members of the CPSL Central Committee Presidium, heads of departments of the CPSL Central Committee, leading secretaries of the regional committees of the party, secretaries of the regional committees of the party for politico-organizational work, communist members of the federal and national governments, secretaries of the Central Council of Trade Unions and of the Central Committee of the Socialist Youth Union, chairmen of the regional national committees and other guests.

The CPCZ Central Committee elected working commissions.

The report of the CPCZ Central Committee on the tasks of national committees after the 16th party congress was delivered by CPCZ Central Committee Secretary Jindrich Polednik.

In its introduction, the report of the Central Committee recalls the creation of national committees and their significance and activity in the past years. The report says that the work of communists, nonparty members and members of the other political parties, nations and nationalities living in the CSSR comes together in national committees in the fulfillment of important tasks in the construction of socialism. Increasing the contribution of national committees to reach the goals set by the 16th CPCZ Congress demands the deepening of their social role as local bodies of state power, in strengthening and developing our socialist system, better utilization of financial and material resources and possibilities for satisfying the needs of the people, and more effective contributions to bringing our economy along the path of intensive development and to increasing the participation of the citizens in the work of national committees. The report goes on to say that the sphere managed by national committees has become an important part of our economy in the course of socialist construction. In the Seventh 5-Year Plan we ought to master exceptionally demanding tasks in pursuing economic development and ensuring internal and external balance in the national economy. This requires a substantial increase in the attention paid by national committees to the fulfillment of economic targets. It requires that they enforce much more firmly the standards of work efficiency and quality, practice strict frugality in every sphere and consistently take into consideration the need for realism. All their activity and the whole potential of their area should be devoted to contributing to satisfying the material and spiritual needs of the people.

The report of the Presidium further stresses the successes and at the same time recalls some shortcomings which have accompanied the development of the national economy and which are manifested in the activity of the national committees, in particular in the construction of investment projects and housing, in maintenance of and repairs to housing, in the high number of projects still under construction, in unsatisfactory quality of services, and so on. The report says that the possibilities for the progress of the economy in the Seventh 5-Year Plan demand that investment be restricted to the most important areas and be carried out with maximum economy of resources. The national committees ought to carry out a thorough check of their investment intentions for the coming years, assess them strictly and judge their necessity. Where decisions are made about investment projects, there is no place for lax policy, surrender to various pressures, for the placing of local interests above social necessities and manifestations of provincialism, carelessness and megalomania.

The issues of housing, housing construction and construction of technical and civic amenities in towns and villages are prominent from the viewpoint of economic and political importance, from the viewpoint of the needs of the people. In seeing to the standard of housing, a substantially higher place should be given to better management of housing, its maintenance and reconstruction and to the modernization of older flats and houses. A number of shortcomings exist in this area, and the enterprises of the housing management, bureaucracy and in some cases obsolete technical methodology are responsible for this.

The report of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium goes on to say that it is necessary to change the whole organization of the management of housing in order to secure better quality housing and better housing management. It says that the utilization of fuel and energy becomes highly prominent in the activity of national committees and their organizations. Good management of fuel resources requires that the national committees pay attention to public transport for carrying people to their places of work and to schools and carefully consider the securing of all other types of transport.

Another important task described in the Presidium's report is the substantial improvement of services which are managed mainly by national committees. From the viewpoint of exacting but justified demands, the situation in this area cannot be considered satisafactory. The basic idea behind the recent resolution of the CPCZ Central Committee and governmental measures is to simplify the whole system of management and planning in the financial, credit and tax sectors and to create conditions for more flexible management of services and for application of stronger economic stimuli to extend these services and save money, including administrative expenses.

The report of the party Central Committee Presidium discusses in detail the tasks of the national committees in securing supplies for the population, collecting and utilizing recyclable materials, further increasing the standard of health care and securing social welfare and the care of the societal environment. National committees, in close cooperation with the control organs, must more strictly protect agricultural land.

The report also pays attention to the link between the national committees and citizens. This is an important aspect of mass political and educational work. Its real influence on the thinking and behavior of citizens is to a decisive degree dependent on the close connection between educational activity and the solution of topical economic, social and cultural tasks in a given area, as well as the needs of the citizens. It is the standard of the work of a particular national committee, how the national committees treat people, how they care for the development of the town of the village and how they satisfy the needs of the population, which determines the formation of relations between citizens and society and their attitudes towards socialism.

The next part of the report of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium analyzes the question of increasing the jurisdiction of national committees in towns, principle villages and housing estates. It states that in the past period, particularly in the 1970's, the life of our country underwent profound changes. These included large-scale changes in population distribution. In this connection there arises the need to increase the overall effectiveness of the management of social economic development in individual areas and, parallel to this, also the role of national committees. National committees must also be armed with such authority as would enable them to cope better with new tasks, to manage more efficiently the functioning of the town organism, to coordinate the activities of enterprises and organizations in their areas and to pool their resources, deal as fully as possible with matters of concern to the citizens -- briefly speaking, to create better conditions for happy life of the people.

In order to solve these problems, the party Central Committee Presidium and the government have adopted principled conclusions for extending the jurisdiction of municipal national committees. Their implementation will enable the more efficient expansion of the role of towns in the social, economic and cultural development of the country.

The actions of the national committees in housing estates represent a particularly significant issue. The position and the jurisdiction of national committees in large municipal housing estates, which form relatively independent units, should be assessed as soon as possible by the governments of the republics so that the problems of housing estates can be tackled more flexibly and more efficiently, so that laws can be brought closer to the people and so that the justly criticized shortcomings can be eliminated more quickly.

Another key question of the development of the national committee system is increasing the role of local national committees in villages. The party Central Committee Presidium and the government approved the principles for improving the work of national committees in principle villages. These will come into force shortly in legislative form. The jurisdiction of national committees in principle villages will be extended so that the national committees can better secure services and better decide about questions pertaining to the life and development of the village. The aim is for the principle villages gradually to become the basic units for securing and offering social services and paid services to the population of the entire surrounding territory, to become the basis for further development of social and cultural life.

The importance of the work and the responsibility of the regional and district national committees are growing in the developmentof the whole system of national committees. The report of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium says that the growth of the role of the national committees in the current stage of the socioeconomic development of the society requires that the democratism in their activity be deepened, that the standard of professional management be improved, that the social control be strengthened and that the connection of the national committees with people be made stronger. Therefore, in agreement with the conclusions of the 16th congress on the development of a socialist state, the demand for increasing the role of elected bodies, plenums, councils, commissions and delegates in the whole managerial and organizational activity of national committees becomes more prominent. The cooperation of national committees with mass organizations and bodies of the national front ought to be increased further in the interest of the further deepening of socialist democracy and better satisfaction of the needs of the people. Civic committees do important work. Their activities should continue to be orientated toward increasing the participation of the citizens in dealing with public affairs and building up villages and towns.

The report of the Presidium deals in detail with the work and tasks of delegates as well as the bodies of national committees. The report emphasizes the responsibility of the governments for the management of national committees and points out that it is necessary to enhance the responsibility of the ministries and other central bodies for professional management and for the development of all spheres of actions of national committees.

The report of the Presidium goes on to point out that the improvement in the quality of work and further develcpment of the activities of national committees are above all the affair of the communists, deputies, officials and the workers through whom the party exercises its leading role. It ought also to be emphasized that the improvement of the work of the national committees is the affair of the entire party, of all its bodies and organizations, which ought to pay continued attention to the matter and to strengthen this area of work consistently with the cadres.

The report of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium on the tasks of the national committees after the 16th CPCZ Congress stressed in its conclusion that we must remember, as regards the activity of the national committees and party work, that all we do is for the people, that the measure of the results of all our work is how we contribute to the well-being of the people, how we improve their lives.

Bilak Remarks 20 Apr

LD202226 Prague CTK in English 1844 GMT 20 Apr 82

[Text] Prague, 20 Apr (CTK) -- The aggressiveness of imperialism has in the recent period been apparent, among other spheres, in the international financial and credit relations, Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and Central Committee Secretary Vasil Bilak said when he joined the debate of the Central Committee plenary session on Tuesday.

The present stage of the general crisis of capitalism is the chief cause of the complicated situation in the world which arouses great worries about the future of mankind. The most reactionary forces of imperialism fail to respect the facts in the contemporary world and try to liquidate the very foundations of the policy of detente and to replace it with a policy of confrontation and force, he said.

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries are the main counter-balance to imperialism. They have at their disposal the necessary economic and defensive potential enabling them to thwart the imperialist plans to gain military-strategic superiority, to defend their interests and to be a support of other nations struggling for peace and social progress.

The Soviet peace initiative corresponds with the innermost interests and peace aspirations of the Czechoslovak people, who therefore fully support it and are ready to help translating it into reality. We support the Soviet proposals put forth by Leonid Brezhnev at the recent rally in Tashkent, Vasil Bilak added.

The Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee session continues on Wednesday.

Bilak Chairs 21 Apr Session

LD211000 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0730 GMT 21 Apr 82

[Text] The Sixth CPCZ Central Committee Plenum continues in the Spanish Hall at Prague Castle today with a discussion on the report of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium on the tasks of the national committees after the 16th CPCZ Congress. The deliberations are chaired by Comrade Vasil Bilak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium.

FOREIGN DELEGATE SPEECHES TO 10TH TU CONGRESS

Poland's Mielnicki

AU202005 Prague PRACE in Czech 17 Apr 82 p 5

["From" the speech by Eugeniusz Mielnicki, chairman of the Polish statewide Commission for Cooperation of Branch Trade Unions, delivered at the 16 April session of the 10th Czechoslovak Trade Union Congress in Prague]

[Text] Our countries are united by a common idea, common Slav blood and history.

This also was emphasized at the latest important meeting between our leading party representatives here in Prague, between Comrades Gustav Husak and Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski.

We sincerely rejoice over your successes, over the development of the socialist state -- strong link of the socialist community.

We arrived in your country under difficult circumstances for our state and our trade union movement. At present, Poland is undergoing the consequences of a political and socioeconomic crisis.

The dissatisfaction of society, which was elicited by the errors of the party and state leadership, was misused by forces hostile to socialism for objectives which sought a gradual change of the system.

I am saying "gradual," because you all certainly remember that a few years ago there were attempts to provoke a similar situation in Czechoslovakia.

It is true that incorrect methods were employed in Poland, which distorted the Leninist principles of the party and state management, that practice was at loggerheads with theory, that the views of the working people and trade unions were disregarded. An instructional [instruktorsky] version of socialism was being implemented.

But it is also true that the growing economic crisis and the crisis of faith in the leadership, in the party and trade unions was misused for organizing domestic and external counterrevolutionary forces. Under conditions when these forces gained a decisive influence over "Solidarity's" leadership, a confrontation occurred with the state power and all progressive forces.

First, as is known, attacks on trade unions were unleashed because the reactionary forces regarded them as the weakest link in our sociopolitical system. After that the socialist system itself was attacked.

The perfected methods of the enemies of socialism, consisting of negation and oriented toward tearing the entire trade union movement away from the party and in the end toward wresting Poland out of the socialist community, failed, however. Extraordinary measures were employed to defend socialism, to defend the higher values and the interests of our state, to defend world peace.

Today we clearly see the disappointment of the imperialist circles, which are angrily attacking our country, employing all means, including political and moral blackmail.

The situation in Poland is now beginning to gradually stabilize. Thanks to the international economic assistance of the socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union, and also thanks to your help, the national economy is gradually beginning to gain steam.

The economic assistance and the support for our endeavors are doubly valuable to us today. Therefore, permit me to tell you from this lectern in the old-Polish and trade unionist manner: Thanks for everything.

Esteemed comrade delegates,

We are all drawing conclusions from the Polish events for ourselves. We want to preserve healthy deliberation in restoring order and developing socialism.

Socialism is a great creative value which one has to know how to utilize. Socialism is destined for creative people; to a wise community as well as to outstanding individuals it provides unlimited opportunities for development.

On the basis of our own experience, we see that we in Poland had not always been capable of an organized use of the entire wealth of the creative opportunities provided by socialism. We must pay attention to the stable as well as to the changeable basic elements of socialism. To the stable ones belong the social ownership of the means of production, the supremacy of the goals of profoundly conceived humanism in the entire social policy and the interests of the toiling masses. To the changeable part belongs an extraordinary vigilance when implementing socialism in practice. Vigilance as regards the external threat, but also -- and perhaps in the first place -- vigilance vis-a-vis ourselves, vis-a-vis succumbing to complacency, vis-a-vis an excess of command-like [prikazovaci] methods. All this means respecting the voice of the workers class, the social atmosphere, the needs of the working people. And this is precisely the supreme mission of the trade unions, which already by their nature must be the strongest of these voices.

The trade union which we represent can already boast about their 100-year old tradition of struggles for workers interests. They have a wealth of concrete results, they stand unwaveringly on the positions of Marxist-Leninist ideas. They regard themselves as an organization of the workers class, fighting for the improvement of working and living conditions, and in a broader context for a socialist transformation of society in conditions of tranquility within our country and peace throughout the world.

We reject everything that was incorrect; we preserve everything that was good; we enrich our activity by new authentic socialist values. Our traditions and results cannot be forgotten or underestimated. We definitely want to remain loyal to the line of construction, and not of destruction. We want to be one of the links codetermining the creation of the country's social and economic life.

At present a discussion on the structure and system of the trade movement is underway in Poland. Even today we can say that it will be a class trade union movement, standing on socialist foundations, ideologically linked with the party, self-governing [samospravne], firmly linked with the workers class, defending the interests of the working people.

Trade unions in Poland will serve first of all their members, will strengthen the international trade union movement in the WFTU ranks and peace in the world.

Poland was, is and will remain a firm link in the socialist community.

GDR's Harry Tisch

AU191215 Prague PRACE in Czech 17 Apr 82 p 5

["From" the speech by Harry Tisch, chairman of the GDR Confederation of Free German Trade Unions, delivered at the 16 April session of the 10th Czechoslovak Trade Union Congress in Prague]

[Text] As friends and class brothers we sincerely rejoice over the good results of your work, which you have achieved under the Communist Party's leadership for the well-being of all people. The creative atmosphere of your congress deliberations guarantees that the Czechoslovak trade unions are well prepared to fulfill their future tasks.

Close and friendly relations between our trade union organizations have existed for many decades. We are a firmly cohesive fighting [bojova] community which no one and nothing will divide.

It is increasingly emerging that where people rule, people also have the word. Where trade unions are loyal cofighters of their Marxist-Leninist parties, they are to a considerable degree contributing to the happiness and prosperity of all working people.

The trade unions of our countries constitute a multimillion strength in the struggle for socialism and peace. The unbridled course toward increasing armament and confrontation practised by the aggressive forces of the United States and its NATO allies has led to a considerable aggravation of the international situation. Since the end of World War II peace has not been as endangered as it is now. The culprits are known and their own statements expose them. But the wheel of history cannot be turned back.

Neither sanctions, nor threats or a declaration of economic warfare can stop the advance of socialism. With all our strength we oppose the attempts of imperialism to get nations to the brink of nuclear war. But commonsense orders that an end be put to the feverish armament.

We fully and totally support the unilateral nuclear moratorium on the deployment of medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe, proclaimed by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev at the 17th Soviet trade union congress.

Our two trade union organizations are carrying out their activity right on the line dividing socialism and imperialism. Everything we do is happening in front of the eyes of the class enemy. Its anticommunist and anti-Soviet incitements are worse today than they have ever been. But the sworn enemies of socialism will not achieve their objectives.

The working people of our countries unequivocally support the policy of their parties. With determination they contribute to the further economic strengthening of socialism, a matter that is the prerequisite for the life of all people to be more beautiful and richer also in more difficult conditions. Our activity abides by the principle that socialism can be built only with the help of strong trade unions.

The well-tried cooperation between the Confederation of the Free German Trade Unions and the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement rests on good traditions. Already Wilhelm Pieck and Klement Gottwald; the great revolutionaries and sons of our two nations, were actively pressing for friendship and fraternal relations between our states and nations. Their legacy is an obligation and a command for us.

The 10th Congress of the Confederation of Free German Trade Unions will begin its deliberations in a few days time. This congress will be held in the sign of active participation of all working people in a consistent implementation of the resolutions of the 10th SED Congress, whose objective is the well-being of the people and ensuring peace.

With optimism and fighting elan, our working people are striving for excellent results in socialist competition, with which they are at the same time strengthening their socialist fatherland. Dear Czechoslovak friends, we wish you from the bottom of our hearts great new successes in the further construction of an advanced socialist society, for the good of our common cause of peace and socialism.

Long live the unshakable friendship and fraternal cooperation between the nations of our neighboring countries!

Long live the fraternal fighting community and friendly ties between our trade union organizations!

Long live socialism and peace!

Hungary's Gaspar

AU191308 Prague PRACE in Czech 17 Apr 82 p 5

["From" the speech by Sandor Gaspar, secretary general of the Hungarian National Trade Union Council, at the 16 April session of the 10th Czechoslovak Trade Union Congress in Prague]

[Text] We are neighbors, and in the past centuries our nations' histories have often taken a similar course. There were periods when our paths diverged, when the class interests of those who ruled and oppressed the people were humiliating both our nations.

We all know that Czechoslovkia is one of the most advanced industrial countries in central Europe, and that it has one of the oldest workers classes and trade union organizations. It has good prerequisites for establishing and shaping in the new situation -- by making use of its revolutionary traditions, under conditions of the workers class' ensured power, and taking into account the working people's interest -- a socialist character and appearance for the trade union movement.

This endeavor has found its reflection in the congress report. By implementing the set goals, the Czechoslovak trade unions are contributing to enriching the entire trade union movement, to reinforcing the socialist community and to protecting socialist ideas, in the interest of the common cause.

However, potentials and reality are not one and the same thing. Nothing comes about spontaneously, automatically -- not even under conditions of socialism. Active work and creative activity are needed for our ideas to be implemented in all areas of social life. That is also our common interest. All comrades surely know very well that it has recently become fashionable to criticize our socialist ideas, our experiences and thus also our trade unions' activity. Many people even go so far as to doubt the socialist society's viability. More specifically, for example they criticize the Leninist perception of the trade unions' role.

We are responding to the accusations leveled against us merely with facts, by improving the application of our principles, by improving their implementation in practice. However, when we are accused of something, it is not enough to deny it. We firmly believe and hold the view that the Leninist doctrine about trade unions, and thus also the concept of the role of trade unions as a transmission belt, has a permanent and lasting value. It is not a thing of the past because it has not yet even had time enough to fully develop.

It was natural that in the initial period of building socialism the trade unions performed primarily the role of a political mediator. But that is only one aspect of the Leninist concept. The other aspect is that the trade unions must communicate the working people's efforts and demands so that these demands become integrated into society's institutional system, into our short-term and long-term plans. Thereby the trade unions take part in shaping overall policy.

The misunderstanding possibly lies in the fact that we are asked to have a completely shaped trade union movement while the social conditions have not yet been completely shaped. However, the trade union movement is an organic part of the society in which it lives and develops. Notwithstanding all our problems, which we know very well, we can assert with self-assurance that it is only under conditions of socialism that a trade union can develop that is capable of the most effective social impact possible. The trade union movement has never before had such authority, jurisdiction and room for its activity as it has under socialist conditions.

We dealt with these issues also at the last congress of the Hungarian trade unions. We cannot and will not be self-satisfied. International cohesion and the mutual knowledge and exploitation of our experiences are necessary for our objectives to materialize as soon and as completely as possible. The international solidarity of the working people will also acquire a new dimension in this way because this solidarity is never dependent on geography nor on time, but has always a precise specific content. We are not only responsible to our nation and to our working people but -- as representatives of organized working people -- we are also responsible to all fraternal working people.

A few weeks ago the 10th World Trade Union Congress ended in Havana, which became an important, great, significant event in the international trade union movement. The attending representatives from all over the world agreed that there is no other alternative for the workers class but socialism. This obliges us even more to perform our work much better than heretofore. We are jointly responsible for how we will form the workers' offensive in defense of working people's interests, for the realization of our goals.

In this spirit I wish you and the congress successful and good work.

Bulgaria's Dyulgerov

AU191700 Prague PRACE in Czech 17 Apr 82 p 5

["From" the speech by Petur Dyulgerov, chairman of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions, at the 16 April session of the 10th Czechoslovak Trade Union Congress in Prague]

[Text] We have listened attentively and with satisfaction to Comrade Karel Hoffmann's report and have been deeply impressed by Comrade Gustav Husak's speech, which farsightedly expressed the Communist Party's long-term position on the development of trade unions in your country and their current tasks.

We have come to your country to take part in the work of the congress and to show our profound respect for the trade unions of fraternal Czechoslovakia, with which we are united by the joint work and struggle for creating a new society, socialist internationalism and international workers solidarity. Our participation in the work of your congress means that we not only remain loyal to the good tradition of carrying out important matters jointly, but that we have been induced to come here by our sincere wish to learn, to adopt from your experiences everything that is useful. We, too, are glad that your practices, the activities you are discussing, are enriching you with good experiences and new ideas.

A time has come in which the communist parties of our countries extensively apply new solutions in the interest of speeding up the socioeconomic development, in the interest of improving the social system and developing socialist democracy even more extensively. Our trade unions are looking for means and methods of enhancing their role and contributing to the implementation of those profound changes. That is why we regard as natural and essential the endeavor to raise the effectiveness of our cooperation, so that our mutual collaboration may become an active factor in the exchange of experiences.

The congress of Bulgarian trade unions ended only a few days ago. At the congress we formulated our trade unions' working platform for fulfilling the resolutions of the 12th BCP Congress and set our tasks to implement party resolutions in the day-to-day life of the workers class and all working people. Making use of the collective wisdom of a broad range of trade union functionaries and political, public and economic officials, we outlined the path toward increasing our organization's contribution to building socialism. The work of the congress culminated in the speech by Comrade Todor Zhivkov in which he dealt with major theoretical issues of building advanced socialism in our country and substantiated the objective need for further enhacing the role of trade unions in the political system of our society.

Your congress demonstrates that you have extensive useful experiences that can be successfully used by Bulgarian trade unions. At the same time I would like to express our readiness to supply you with everything that might be of interest to you. It is our obligation to improve cooperation between Bulgarian and Czechoslovak trade unions, relying on the firm traditions that were established by the great sons of our nations -- Georgi Dimitrov and Klement Gottwald.

The Bulgarian People's Republic is a firm and reliable member of the world front of peace. Its policy is fully based on the principles of peace, security, friendly relations and cooperation. Our trade unions resolutely support this policy and take an active part in its implementation.

At present when the United States and imperialism are escalating their aggressive course, making impudent attacks on detente, imposing an unprecedented arms buildup and dragging the world into a nuclear catastrophe, we are firmly resolved to work with all our might to strengthen the unity of the international trade union movement and to carry out and take initiatives in defense of peace and the vital interests of working people all over the world.

The Bulgarian working people unreservedly support the peace policy of the Soviet Union -- the mainstay and hope of progressive mankind. They have responded with full approval to the new peace proposals of Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, proposals that are a supreme expression of good will and common sense.

In the complicated international situation in which our class enemies are trying with all their might to ideologically, politically and organizationally divide the international workers movement and to pit some segments of the workers class against others, it is our supreme international obligation to strengthen and close our ranks, to enhance the authority and action of the World Trade Union Federation.

SLOVAK PRAVDA ON BREZHNEV SUMMIT PROPOSAL

AU211136 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 19 Apr 82 p 4

[Julius P. Loerincz article: "An Active and Responsible Dialogue: L. Brezhnev Has Revived the Initiative of the 26th CPSU Congress"; capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Excerpts] IN THE FLOOD OF SIGNIFICANT EVENTS DURING THE RECENT HOURS THE ANSWER GIVEN BY LEONID ILICH BREZHNEV, LEADING SOVIET REPRESENTATIVE, TO THE SOVIET PRAVDA REPORTER'S QUESTION ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF HIS MEETING RONALD REAGAN UNDOUBTEDLY HOLDS PRIDE OF PLACE. IT IS AS CERTAIN THAT EVERY OBJECTIVE PERSON IMMEDIATELY DISCERNS THE QUALITATIVE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE SOVIET STATEMAN'S RESPONSIBLE AND CONCEPTUAL APPROACH TO THIS MATTER OF PARAMOUNT IMPORTANCE AND THE KIND OF VARIETY SHOW-PUBLICITY SEEKING APPROACH ADOPTED BY THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT

In fact, as we know, in his talk with American jouranlists on 5 April 1982 R. Reagan mentioned the possibility of meeting L. Brezhnev within the framework of the UN General Assembly's special session to be held this June in New York. At that time nobody took serious notice of this, not even the West, and Reagan's words were commented on as an attempt to improve the image of the American militarized foreign policy, rather than as an expression of serious interest in negotiations. In fact, even the very first Washington reaction to L. Brezhnev's reply on Saturday to the Soviet PRAVDA reporter confirms that such opinions were correct -- as we report elsewhere in this issue, Larry Speakes, White House press secretary, stated that what Reagan had in mind was an informal meeting, rather than a real summit meeting between the United States and the USSR.

Thus, it is now the turn of Ronald Reagan and of the entire U.S. leading team to prove by deeds and by their attitudes that they truly realize their coresponsibility for the fate of the world, brim full of destructive nuclear arms potential. For this world it is not sufficient to speak of, and attempt to stage, attractive performances on the fringes of this or that international forum such as the UN deliberations on armament matters. And particularly not if this is meant to distract attention from the intensive American efforts to gain military supremacy, deploy new nuclear missiles in Western Europe, attempt to stop the process of logical social changes for force and simultaneously push through American predatory interests, for instance in Central America and the Near and Middle East.

THE WORLD NEEDS AN ACTIVE, CONSTRUCTIVE AND RESPONSIBLE DIALOGUE, WHICH WOULD LOOK FOR SENSIBLE AGREEMENTS BASED ON THE PRINCIPLES OF EQUALITY AND EQUAL SECURITY, AND THUS ALSO FOR WAYS OUT OF THE SITUATION, WHICH SHOWS NO OTHER SENSIBLE ALTERNATIVE FOR MANKIND THAN PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE. THE SECOND POSSIBILITY IS NOT ONLY UNWISE [NEROZUMNA], IT IS TRAGIC -- A NUCLEAR CATASTROPHE

Now a specific offer arrives from Moscow, an offer to carry out a well-prepared and thorough Soviet-American summit meeting. An offer formulating a possible date for the meeting (October) and a place where it could be held (Finland or Switzerland). Moreover, IT MUST BE SAID THAT HIS OFFER IS SUPPORTED BY POSITIVE POLITICAL ACTS

RUDE PRAVO ON OIL INTERESTS IN FALKLANDS ISSUE

AU201424 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Apr 82 p 6

[Dusan Rovensky commentary in the column "Note": "The Enticing Smell of Crude Oil: From our Washington Reporter"]

[Text] The American proposal to solve the British-Argentine dispute about the Falklands (Malvinas) by setting up an island administration shared by Britain, Argentina and the United States, has transparent aims. Because, for quite some time, the Pentagon has been casting its covetous eye on the islands as a suitable place for building a military base.

And the base should also play an important role in achieving another goal -- the establishment of a South Atlantic pact as a tool for pushing through American interests south of the equator.

Not only military, but also economic interests lie at the back of the Pentagon activities. The ocean bed around the Falklands (Malvinas) in the Atlantic contains immense crude oil reserves. In 1981, two crude oil monopolies -- Royal Dutch and Exxon -- carried out experimental boring in close proximity to the islands. They found crude oil near the coast of Tierra del Fuego. According to reliable information, immense and extractable reserves are located there. Further crude oil lies in the area surrounding the islands and near the Argentine coast.

According to the facts published by the U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT, the crude oil deposit near the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands is so large that it could represent the largest find of this strategic raw material in the last decade. For the Washington political and military strategists, who regard crude oil deposits as a primary object of their interests, this is particularly enticing. Thus, if the United States is being so active in connection with the British-Argentine crisis, this must be attributed to the above circumstances in particular, and not to the interest in peace in that distant area of the world.

CHNOUPEK TALKS WITH IRAQI COUNTERPART 20 APR

LD201932 Prague CTK in English 1142 GMT 20 Apr 82

[Text] Baghdad, 20 Apr (CTK correspondent) -- Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek, visiting Iraq since Sunday, continued his talks with Iraqi Foreign Minister Sa'dun Hammadi on Tuesday.

While reviewing international relations, the two ministers agreed that the deteriorated international situation must be improved. They exchanged views on possibilities of averting the danger of war, of developing detente and halting the arms race and called for concrete disarmament measures and for the realization of constructive peace initiatives directed to this end.

The two ministers also underlined the need for a speedy peaceful settlement of the Middle East and Gulf conflicts.

Minister Chnoupek pointed out the positive contribution by the Non-Aligned Movement to the struggle for peace, detente, against imperialism, colonialism, racism, apartheid and Zionism. He also spoke with appreciation about Iraq's active contribution to this movement.

STROUGAL RECEIVES SOVIET MINISTER FOR TALKS

LD162032 Prague CTK in English 1806 GMT 14 Apr 82

[Text] Prague, 16 Apr (CTK) -- Czechoslovak Premier Lubomir Strougal received here today Mikhail Shkabardnya, Soviet minister of instrument making, means of automation and control systems, currently on a visit to Czechoslovakia.

The two representatives underlined the significance of cooperation between the CMEA member countries in instrument-making for automation of controlling processes and in production of robots and their application. In this connection, they discussed other issues concerning the deepening of cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union in this important field of the national economy.

HOFFMANN LEAVES FOR 10TH FDGB TU CONGRESS

LD202136 Prague Domestic Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1730 GMT 20 Apr 82

[Text] A delegation of the Central Council of Trade Unions led by Comrade Karel Hoffmann, left Prague today for Berlin to attend the 10th FDGB Congress.

10TH FDGB CONGRESS OPENS IN BERLIN 21 APRIL

Tisch Welcomes Soviets, Hungarians

LD202130 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1457 GMT 20 Apr 82

[Summary] Berlin, 20 Apr (ADN) -- Harry Tisch, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the FDGB National Executive Committee, welcomed at Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport today a Soviet trade union delegation led by Stepan Alekseyevich Shalayev, chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, and a delegation of the Hungarian National Council of Trade Unions led by its Secretary General Sandor Gaspar. Both delegations have arrived in the GDR for the 10th FDGB Congress.

CSSR, WFTU Groups Welcomed

LD202330 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2057 GMT 20 Apr 82

[Text] Berlin, 20 Apr (ADN) -- Harry Tisch welcomed today a delegation of the CSSR Central Council of Trade Unions led by its chairman, Karel Hoffmann, and a delegation of the WFTU, led by Secretary General Ibrahim Zakariyah.

Tisch Welcomes Bulgarians

LD202126 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1745 GMT 20 Apr 82

[Text] Berlin, 20 Apr (ADN) -- Harry Tisch this evening welcomed a delegation of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions led by its chairman, Petur Dyulgerov, at Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport.

Honecker Attends Opening

LD210844 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0759 GMT 21 Apr 82

[Text] Berlin, 21 Apr (ADN) -- The 10th FDGB Congress opened today in the Palace of the Republic in Berlin. With enthusiastic applause more than 3,000 delegates welcomed Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council. Many foreign guests are participating in the congrees which will last until Saturday.

Honecker Greets Congress

LD210956 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0202 GMT 21 Apr 82

[Text] Berlin, 21 Apr (ADN) -- The trade unions are making a significant contribution to the further progress of the developed socialist society in the GDR and to the securing of peace. This is said in a welcoming address of the SED Central Committee, signed by the general secretary, Erich Honecker, to the 10th FDGB Congress which starts today, Wednesday.

The FDGB is an important force in society in the solving of material, cultural and social tasks. "It is a characteristic sign of the socialist life in our country that the trade unions take an active part in the leadership and planning of social development with a high degree of political responsibility and expert knowledge." Wherever workers' interests are involved, no decision is taken without the agreement of the trade unions, it continues. "In agreement with the comprehensive rights, which are guaranteed them under the GDR Constitution and the labor laws, the trade unions pay great attention to the continuous improvement of the working and living conditions of the people."

"They are successfully using the wide field of activity which is opening up to them to satisfy the growing needs of the workers for a high level of intellectual-cultural life, a fulfilling leisure-time and recreational activity."

"The GDR trade unions base their work on the assumption that the strengthening of our socialist fatherland always includes fraternal cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community," it says further on in the address. The FDGB supports in full the far-reaching decisions and new proposals which Leonid Brezhnev announced at the 17th AUCCTU [All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions] Congress.

"The trade unions and all citizens of our country are concerned by the fact that the most aggressive circles of imperialism, especially the United States are escalating the international situation by their course of confrontation and arms drive. In the face of the imperialist threat the members of the FDGB are making their most significant contribution to the preservation of peace by giving all their effort to the strengthening of socialism in the GDR. United in solidarity with all trade unionists on all continents, our trade unions are fighting for peace, disarmament and international cooperation. In this they have gained great respect."

SINDERMANN-LED DELEGATION ENDS VISIT TO SYRIA

Meets PLO's Al-Fahum

LD202110 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1212 GMT 20 Apr 82

[Text] [no dateline received] -- During a friendly discussion with Khalid al-Fahum, chairman of the Palestinian National Council, Horst Sindermann stressed that the GDR continues to give support and solidarity to the just struggle of the Palestinian people for the implementation of their national right to self-determination and the founding of an independent state. Khalid al-Fahum expressed the great importance attached to the GDR's support for the just struggle of the Palestinian people under the PLO's leadership.

During his visit to Syria, Horst Sindermann also met with the Political Bureau members of the Central Committee of the Syrian Communist Party. Daniel Ni'mih and Ibrahim Bakri, for a comradely exchange of views.

At a press conference on Monday evening, Horst Sindermann told Syrian and foreign journalists that the talks with Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad and other senior politicians had strengthened the close ties of friendship and cooperation between the two states, parties and parliaments.

Delegation Departs

LD202122 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1309 GMT 20 Apr 82

[Text] Damascus, 20 Apr (ADN) -- The parliamentary delegation led by Horst Sindermann, president of the GDR People's Chamber, Politburo member of the SED Central Committee and deputy chairman of the Council of State, ended its 4-day visit to Syria on Tuesday. It was given a warm send-off at the airport by Mahmud az-Zu'bi, president of the Syrian People's Council and member of the Regional Command of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party and other members of the People's Council.

The delegation conducted successful talks with a Syrian People's Council delegation, which were pervaded by the common desire to further strengthen relations between the two parliaments in the joint struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction, and for peace, security and social progress.

HONECKER'S GREETINGS TO KIM IL-SONG ON BIRTHDAY

AU191403 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15 Apr 82 pp 1-2

[Text] Berlin (ND) -- Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, has sent the following greetings message to Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Korean Workers Party Central Committee and president of the DPRK:

Dear Comrade Kim Il-song: On your 70th birthday I convey to you fraternal greetings and the most cordial congratulations on behalf of the SED Central Committee, the State Council and the people of the GDR as well as on my own behalf.

The GDR people know and respect you as an outstanding representative of the Korean people who uses all his strength for the benefit of the people of his country, for peace and socialism.

We highly appreciate the contribution which you have always made for the development and the deepening of the friendly relations and the cooperation between the SED and the Korean Workers Party, the GDR and the DPRK and their peoples.

The communists, the people of the GDR are sincerely pleased over the important successes which the DPRK people have achieved under the leadership of the Korean Workers Party in establishing a prosperous socialist state, in implementing the decisions of the sixth party congress.

We reaffirm our support for the struggle of the Korean people for the permanent securing of peace on the Korean Peninsula and for the peaceful democratic union of the country without foreign interference.

Firmly convinced that the relations of friendship and cooperation between our parties, states and peoples on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism will further develop and deepen to the benefit of our peoples, I wholeheartedly wish you, dear Comrade Kim Il-song, health and further successes.

GOVERNMENTAL COMMISSION TALKS HELD WITH FRANCE

LD202130 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1406 GMT 20 Apr 82

[Text] Paris, 20 Apr (ADN) -- The sixth meeting of the Joint GDR-France Governmental Commission began in Paris today. Prior to its opening, Dr Gerhard Beil, member of the GDR Council of State and state secretary, held talks with Michel Jobert, minister of state for foreign trade, and Pierre Dreyfus, minister for industry. Jobert and Dreyfus praised the rapid expansion of economic cooperation between the two countries, especially during the past 2 years. They reaffirmed the French Government's intention to continue this steady long-term development and to extend it to other economic areas.

State Secretary Beil said the GDR attaches great importance to the further deepening of economic, industrial and technical cooperation between the two countries and will create all the conditions necessary to achieve the aims set out in the documents of the Joint Governemental Commission. Here the main emphasis is on machine tool construction, metallurgy, electrotechnics and electronics and the chemical industry. He said the good experiences in cooperation accrued so far should be used in cooperation in third markets.

JARUZELSKI ARRIVES TO BEGIN OFFICIAL TALKS

Arrival Ceremony

LD210912 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0800 GMT 21 Apr 82

[Text] The Polish party and government delegation has arrived in Hungary. Our reporter Laszlo Krasso is at the scene of the welcoming ceremony:

[Krasso] There are welcoming slogans in Hungarian and Polish and national flags in front of Parliament in Kossuth Square in Budapest. A festive welcome and a military march-past are taking place to mark the arrival in Hungary for an official, friendly visit of the Polish party and state delegation headed by Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, premier and chairman of the Military Council of National Salvation.

Present to welcome the guests are the following: Janos Kadar, first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, Premier Gyorgy Lazar, Gyorgy Aczel, Mihaly Korom, Karoly Nemeth and Miklos Ovari, members of the Politburo, and several members of the government. Jozsef Garamvolgyi, Hungary's ambassador in Warsaw, is also present.

Those who arrived in Budapest as members of the Polish delegation are Jozef Czyrek, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, minister of foreign affairs; Tadeusz Czechowicz, member of the Politburo, first secretary of the Lodz PZPR Voivodship Committee; Marian Orzechowski, Central Committee secretary; Jerzy Ozdowski, deputy premier; Jozef Koziol, member of the ZSL Presidium, secretary of the Executive Committee; Alfred Beszterda, member of the SD Presidium; Dr Micah Janiszewski, member of the Military Council of National Salvation; and Tadeusz Wieszczak, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Polish People's Republic.

It will be recalled by our listeners that ever since the normalization of the situation following the introduction of the state emergency, Wojciech Jaruzelski has visited those fraternal countries which, as worthy allies, stood by the Polish party and the Polish people even in the most difficult days of the crisis and thus helped the difficult process of normalization. He has visited the USSR, the GDR and Czechoslovakia, and everywhere the objective of his meetings with the leaders of the particular countries has been to strengthen cooperation. The current visit to Hungary will, in all possibility, bring about the same result.

The welcoming cermony is to end here, in Kossuth Square with a march-past by the guard of honor. In accordance with the plans, official talks are to open in the course of the morning.

Talks Begin

LD211036 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 21 Apr 82

[Excerpts] Hungarian-Polish talks at the highest level have begun.

We continue the report from the studio by saying that after the march-past by the Battalion of Honor Wojciech Jaruzelski head of the Polish delegation, went to his lodgings. During the course of the morning he laid a wreath at the Hungarian Heroes' Monument. He laid a wreath in Bem Square, in memory of Jozef Bem, the Polish hero of a fine chapter in Hungarian history.

Hungarian-Polish official talks opened in the Delegates' Hall of Parliament prior to the beginning of our broadcast.

Our negotiating group is headed by Janos Kadar, first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, and on the Polish side, by Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee.

One may conclude from the presence of economic experts in the delegations that the development of bilateral economic relations is being given a prominent place in the talks.

Delegates Named

LD211232 Budapest MTI in English 1034 GMT 21 Apr 82

[Text] Budapest, 21 Apr (MTI) -- Official Hungarian-Polish talks started in the parliamentary building this morning.

The Hungarian negotiating party, headed by Janos Kadar, included Gyorgy Lazar, Miklos Ovari, Lajos Faluvegi, Army General Lajos Czinege, defence minister, Janos Berecz, head of the HSWP CC Foreign Affairs Department, Istvan Szabo, chairman of the National Council of Agricultural Cooperatives, (the latter three are members of the HSWP CC) and Janos Nagy, state secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Jozsef Garamvolgyi.

The Polish party, led by Wojciech Jaruzelski, included Józef Czyrek, member of the PUWP CC Political Committee, secretary of the CC and foreign minister, Tadeusz Czechowicz, member of the PUWP CC Political Committee and first secretary of the Lodz Voivodship party committee, Marian Orzechowski, secretary of the PUWP CC, Jerzy Ozdowski, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, Jozef Koziol, member of the Presidium of the Supreme Executive of the United Peasants' Party and secretary of the Executive Committee, Alfred Beszterda, member of the Presidium of the Democratic Party CC and secretary of the CC, Lieutenant General Michal Janiszewski, head of the office of the Council of Ministers and member of the Military Council of National Salvation, and Tadeusz Pietrzak.

Press Comment on Visit

LD210918 Budapest MTI in English 0710 GMT 21 Apr 82

[Text] Budapest, 21 Apr (MTI) -- All national dailies of Hungary reports Wednesday in prominent place about the official, friendly visit of the Polish party and state delegation, headed by Wojciech Jaruzelski, to Budapest. They carry Hungarian and Polish-language banners welcoming the delegation.

The newspapers carry Wojciech Jaruzelski's biography and point to the international significance of the visit. They appreciate Hungarian-Polish relations and emphasize the Hungarian people's fraternal solidarity with the endeavours of the Polish communists, all Polish patriots aimed at consolidating the achievements of socialism in Poland.

"Today we welcome Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party Central Committee, head of government of Poland and chairman of the Military Council for National Salvation, a communist leader who accepted a highly responsible task, during his country's most difficult moments, for the sake of his people, (?socialism) and peace," emphasizes NEPSZABADSAG in a portrait of Jaruzelski.

The central organ of the HSWP goes on to point out:

"The PUWP is currently striving for evolving a wide-ranging national understanding with all those forces of society which attach significance to Poland's peace and order and which are willing to work for the restoration of the national economy's stability in order that Poland can be a firm member state of the socialist community and an important pillar of European security.

"Today every true patriot in Poland is working for internationalist goals and the above objectives and this determines the policy pursued by Wojciech Jaruzelski," underlines NEPSZABADSAG.

MAGYAR HIRLAP points out in its editorial:

"There is mutual desire for discussions on the topmost level. In its present difficult situation, Poland wants to make its cooperation links still closer with the states of the socialist community. As for our country, it emanates naturally from the identity of objectives and interests that Hungary is interested in that the bases of consolidation process are strengthened at the earliest [words indistinct] fraternal country. We support the Polish communists, patriots who are concentrating efforts for consolidating the achievements of socialism and for [words indistinct] consolidation.

"We are aware that the significance of what happens in Poland goes beyong its national boundaries. Only a stable, socialist Poland can serve the two common causes: The basic interests of the Polish people, and peace and security in Europe," emphasizes MAGYAR HIRLAP.

NEPSZAVA, the central organ of the Hungarian trade unions, says in its editorial:

"Our public opinion followed with sincere concern the developments in Poland in the past two years and it noted with relief the firm measures which put an end to the chaos, anarchy there and curbed counterrevolutionary organizations and thereby checked the process that might have easily pushed socialist Poland to a bloody civil war.

"We know that political, social and economic problems cannot be solved at a stroke (?and) from one day to the other," continues the daily. "However, it is a start that [words indistinct] (?the introduction of emergency measures) the Polish party and government have been able to lead the country again to the path of consolidation and of gradual normalization. We have witnessed easing of the strict measures introduced during the emergency, the restoration of respect to work and we justly believe that the trade unions too may shortly be able to resume their normal work in the representation of the genuine interests of the workers. Work by those trade unions which are aware that, even when power is exercised by the working class, they have got their specific tasks. They can realize these tasks as constituent [word indistinct] of power and as partners of the party and government. But a true labour organization [words indistinct] turn against the working people's power, against the state of the working people engaged in realizing the centuries-long dreams of workers."

The high-ranking talks, which will take place now in Budapest, will furnish an opportunity for intensifying solidarity and cooperation, strengthening the unity of the socialist community, exchanging historical experiences. Besides, it may exercise a favorable impact on the European situation, may ease tension and serve the process of detente," stresses NEPSZAVA.

JOINT STAFF EXERCISES WITH USSR END 20 APRIL

LD201754 Budapest MTI in English 1700 GMT 20 Apr 82

[Text] Budapest, 20 Apr (MTI) -- The joint staff exercises held in the territory of the Hungarian People's Republic and attended by the Soviet and Hungarian command units, concluded successfully on Tuesday. Marchal Viktor Kulikov, commander-in-chief of the United Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty Organization member-countries, who led the exercises, left Hungary.

TU DELEGATION LEAVES FOR FDGB CONGRESS

LD201312 Budapest MTI in English 1106 GMT 20 Apr 82

[Text] Budapest, 20 Apr (MTI) -- A Hungarian trade union delegation, headed by Sandor Gaspar, secretary-general of the Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions (SZOT), left for the Democratic Republic of Germany today to attend the 10th Congress of the Confederation of Free German Trade Unions (FDGB).

JARUZELSKI LEAVES FOR VISIT TO HUNGARY 21 APR

LD210814 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0800 GMT 21 Apr 82

[Text] A Polish party-state delegation led by Wojciech Jaruzelski left for Hungary today on a friendship visit. At Warsaw's Okecie Airport the delegation was bid farewell by representatives of the highest party and state authorities, including Henryk Jablonski.

WLADYSLAW GWIAZDA DISCUSSES TIES WITH HUNGARY

LD202102 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 20 Apr 82

[Anna Andrzejewska interview with Polish Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Wladyslaw Gwiazda -- date and venue not specified -- recorded]

[Text] [Question] Minister, how are our economic and trade contacts with Hungary shaping up at this moment, or, to put it differently, what are the current problems in our economic contacts with this country?

[Answer] Without doubt the biggest problem on both sides remains the correct and complete realization of contract obligations which were undertaken on the basis of the trade protocol recently signed between our countries. This concerns mainly the export and import of raw materials.

[Question] What should we be getting from Hungary which we are not getting, or perhaps get with considerable delay?

[Answer] Let me give an example. (?according to plan) we could not come to terms about aluminum. In connection with this, no contract has been signed for deliveries of aluminum and no deliveries have been made. Another commodity, deliveries of which are not made, are petroleum products. We cannot come to terms over specifications for these products imported from Hungary. We are in the final stages of reaching an agreement on (? the specifications), and I think that soon the contracts will be signed and the deliveries will commence.

[Question] We are primarily talking about raw materials. What about other delays -- ours or Hungarian?

[Answer] Here I must stress the quite weak realization of our deliveries of machines, equipment and spare parts. However, deliveries of spare parts are not very well realized by either side. Our basic task for the near future is to supplement export and import contracts.

[Question] Are you thinking here about market goods, goods intended directly for our market?

[Answer] Yes, that also, because some of the mutual deliveries of market goods are still not under contract.

[Question] I don't know how much truth there is in what I am about to say, but it is said that we are constantly owing less money to the socialist countries. How does this look where Hungary is concerned?

[Answer] We noted a certain defined level of our debt at the end of last year. At the time it amounted to approximately R50 million. We have transferred its repayment to later years, after an agreement with the Hungarian side. Current deliveries should balance, because in the first quarter our deliveries were somewhat better than the Hungarian ones. Thus a temporary improvement in our balance of payments occured, but with the full realization of mutual contractual and protocol obligations -- I am thinking about the trade protocol -- the level of debt of last year will be maintained.

[Question] How did the Hungarians react to our request for delivery of raw materials to us, so that our industry could perhaps start going full steam?

[Answer] Of course, the Hungarian side reacted positively. This was expressed by Hungary sending specialists to our enterprises -- in the textile industry, the chemical industry and the machine engineering industry. Many topics are subject to mutual agreements, bearing in mind that we will have to wait a little for the results, of course. Another of the forms of this cooperation will be deliveries of raw materials to Poland for processing in our enterprises, primarily in the light industry.

[Question] Is there a chance of Hungary employing a greater number of our specialists in Hungary? Quite simply, are we wanted or not?

[Answer] Of course there is such a chance. Despite the limiting of investment and despite the prediction of a fall in our exports of construction and assembly services -- as you know, in the trade protocol we anticipated slightly higher quantities of this export in the current year than was the case last year -- lately, in connection with our postulates, the Hungarian side has decided to raise the level of our export of construction-assembly services from R45 million to R75 million -- that is by R30 million.

[Question] But does the price rise in construction services hide behind this sum, or if a greater number of our specialists employed there?

[Answer] This concerns an increased range of assembly-construction work. Negotiations on what kind of work this should be are in progress, but I can say today that there will be a predominance of production-type work, that is, our workers will work in Hungarian enterprises, whereas the export of construction services will be proportionally lower.

PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE SECRETARIAT MEETS 20 APR

LD201854 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 20 Apr 82

[Text] A PZPR Central Committee Secretariat session was held today. During the meeting a number of suggestions concerning improvement of the functioning of party echelons and organizations, in accordance with the resolution of the Seventh PZPR Central Committee Plenum, were examined. The debate focussed in particular on examination of and effective reaction to letters, complaints and suggestions submitted to party echelons. Acknowledging the great significance of improving the efficiency of the examination and resolution of matters submitted by citizens to various party links and party activisits, of the need to increase sensitivity to the problems of working people, and of increasing party responsibility in this sector, the Central Committee Secretariat has decided to prepare a draft of the relevant resolution which will be presented to the Central Committee at one of the coming plenary sessions.

The PZPR Central Committee Secretariat acquainted itself with the detailed program of this year's 1 May feast and the program of celebrations marking the 191st anniversary of the adoption of the 3 May Constitution. It was also acquainted with the results of the conference of the organizational secretaries of socialist countries held in Prague from 30 March-1 April. A decision was made to take advantage of the suggestions and experience which arose from the conference. A comprehensive plan for training and for improving the political qualifications of full-time party employees was also approved.

VATICAN REPORTS PRIMATE'S THESES ON SOCIAL ACCORD

Part I: Release Internees

LD192200 Vatican City in Polish to Poland 1415 GMT 19 Apr 82

[Part I of theses on social accord proposed by the Primate's Special Council]

[Text] The decision of 13 December 1981 created a new historical situation in Poland. In the period after August 1980 an immense hope was born in Polish society:

The hope that our state within the framework of the existing political system and the binding international treaties would become a country in which the society would regain its subjectivity [podmiotowosc], would have a real part in public life, a real influence on the functioning of the state; would have the power to control the activities of the authorities and would take advantage of the scope of civic freedoms widened after August 1980. The introduction of martial law and the suspension of fundamental civic rights was felt by a considerable section of society to be the collapse of that hope and caused bitterness and a state of depression. As always in similar historical circumstances, society expects from the church spiritual help, moral strength and the salvation of the nation's cultural traditions. The Episcopate of Poland at its 183 plenary conference in a communique dated 26 February 1982 stressed, out of concern for the fate of the nation, the vital need to strive for social accord. This communique was received in Poland with the greatest emotion. People in Poland see in it a direction for themselves and the indication of a way out.

The Primate's Social Council was set up by Primate Jozef Glemp, recalling the earlier tradition of the times of Primate Hlond. The council is an opinion-giving and ancillary body associated with the primate of Poland, to whom it presents the results of its work. The idea proposed by the Episcopate of a new, internal social accord on the model of the social agreement concluded in August 1980 requires development and specification. The Primate's Social Council submits its proposals on this matter.

If that social accord, agreement between the authorities and society, were to be a way out of the present political impasse, it would have to gain wide social acceptance. The achieveing of that acceptance will be possible only when society acquires the belief, the guarantee that its hopes have not been definitively shattered. This social accord could be concluded between the authorities and appropriate independent representations of organized social groups. Representatives of real social and opinion-creating forces should participate in these [word indistinct]. This means representatives of the trade unions, including particularly the most numerous independent, self-governing trade union Solidarity' the trade unions of private farmers and of crafts; representatives of science and culture, of the creative and youth unions. In particular conditions the presence of the church at this reaching of agreement would also be necessary. The subject of national accord or the detailed agreements which will go to make up that accord should be the conditions, course and deadline for removing the restructions of the state of martial law and for restoring civil rights, some of the more important legislative proposals and the general program of reform and renewal of social and economic life.

The political and legal significance and the format of such agreements would be special: they would be untypical, extraordinary acts and, depending on the needs, could have a wider or narrower scope. They would have to regulate everything. But it must be most firmly stressed that the situation in Poland is after all extraordinary and tragic; it demands extraordinary measures, the great and deepening rift between the authorities and society; the intensifying signs of hostility and outright hate in the situation of deep crisis demand a form of social agreement which would be capable of awakening hope. On the other hand, the accord should strengthen the position of the state authorities and enable them to combat the crisis effectively, taking into consideration that the state of martial law was caused in fact by weakness and threat to the structures of the state and the system, although it was not the only way to save them and brought much evil.

Social accord, to operate effectively, should fulfil two conditions. It should be [words indistinct] with social standing, having in this case also the significance of a symbol and representing social groups which count for something. In its wake facts and guarantees should be presented that the road of accord and national agreement will be a lasting factor of normalization of life in Poland.

An important condition for the effectiveness of accord should be a declaration of adherence to all social agreements concluded in 1980, without which the negotiation of a new accord would be completely incredible.

Respect for those agreements was stressed in his first speech of 13 December by the chairman of the Military Council of National Salvation and also by the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic in its resolution of 25 January 1982. The basis of accord is to be recognition by the authorities of the subjectivity of society; respect for the fact of the existence of independent public opinion; understanding and recognition by the authorities that without dialogue and agreement with society on important issues there is no way out of the crisis.

On the other hand, however, an unavoidable condition of internal stabilization is an understanding by society of the system's demands and the objective situation of the state and its determination to (?preserve) the existing international structures.

The communique of the 183d session of the Episcopate speaks of the need for realism in assessing the consequences of our country's geopolitical situation. These must be solved within the framework of historic structures. No authorities in Poland would have an unhampered freedom in the solving of problems. The present government does not have it either. This must dictate to society caution and moderation.

The communique of the 183d session of the Polish Episcopate lists especially urgent social demands which are certainly important conditions of internal peace. It is essential that the internees be rapidly released and a free return be ensured for people who are in hiding for fear of political repression. Society expects an amnesty for people sentenced for deeds which do not appear in the penal code but which were regarded as offering resistance following the introduction of the state of martial law. Of course, pressure, personal repression and dismissal from work for one's beliefs or membership in Solidarity conflict with the need for social accord and justice. These kinds of repression should be stopped and banned wherever they are applied. People dismissed from work for that reason should be reinstated.

There must be determined opposition to all pressure aimed at inducing people to leave the country for good, especially if this is applied to internees, which may constitute a choice of emigration or imprisonment. Important steps toward normalizing state life should be the restoration of the free activity of creative and scientific unions. It is also necessary to restore the freedom of activity of all clubs of Catholic intelligentsia existing on 13 December 1981 and to permit a resumption of all organs of the Catholic press existing at that date. Solutions such as that applied to the Polish Journalists' Association are contrary to the demands for social accord and intensify bitterness.

The basic aim of social accord should be the removal of barriers between the authorities and society. If social accord is implemented, the matter of social structures, which would enable an increased participation of citizens in determining public affairs, and contact between the authorities and society will emerge. Within the framework of increasing participation of the social factor in state life, it could be useful to create advisory bodies attached to the government or the Sejm, on condition that such commissions consist of people delegated by independent social organizations and having the guaranteed right to free presentation of their views in the mass media.

The reorientation of society, the outlining of prospects for the appearance of a new type of civic activeness, and a democratic direction of transformations are necessary. Self-government in the wide and profound conception of the word can be the only model of this kind.

The starting point could be elections to people's councils at a lower level. These should be fully autonomous, not politically determined. For this reason it would not be correct to link those elections with elections to the Sejm or [passage indistinct].

Part II: Reactivate Solidarity

LD201720 Vatican City in Polish to Poland 1415 GMT 20 Apr 82

[Part II of theses on social accord proposed by the Primate's Social Council]

[Text] A dangerous phenomenon which poisons the life of the nation is the spread of hatred. There is no justification and there can be none for hatred, even where understandable resentment and anger have been born. All Christians, particularly clergymen, should oppose it. Social resistance to martial law may take on the form of acts of violence, which can turn into a vicious circle of terror and repression. These acts must be resolutely condemned. They will be effectively counteracted if, in parallel, there develops the process of internal easing of tension and of national accord. A basic condition for the effective struggle against hatred and mutual rancor is a fundamental change in the orientation of the official propaganda in the mass media, which is combatting -- in essence -- all the manifestations and achievements of the broad movement of renewal of the past months, insults the public and evokes it to oppose the authorities.

The moral problems that result from the present situation are felt particuarly keenly by the young. The breakdown of hope and the failure to perceive a way out of the crisis leads to rebellion. The overwhelming majority of the young are of an oppositional frame of mind, embittered and feverishly set upon action. One cannot remedy this with the means of repression. That is why the Polish Episcopate so correctly raised the problem of autonomous associations of the young. An unusually urgent matter is the organization of independent organizations of young students, especially self-help organizations. The lack of organizations of their own is one of the essential causes of the ferment among the young.

One of the most important questions awaiting a positive solution is that of the trade union movement. The general feeling among the public is that there can be no conditions for implementing social accord or for effective struggle against the crisis without a reactivation of the existing trade unions, above all the NSZZ Solidarity, which enjoys broad social support. It seems that at the present moment, however, the authorities have not got a clear concept of action as regards Solidarity; the Council of Ministers' Committee for Trade Union Affairs has not even put forward constructive proposals in this area.

The [word indistinct] published by the committee gives the impression of evading social dialogue on the topic of natonal accord. Taking up this issue is an urgent necessity. (?In the view) of broad social circles there is no other way to achieve accord other than by keeping the social agreements concluded in 1980.

The first [words indistinct] social agreements was the creation of independent trade unions operating within the framework of the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic. On this basis, in accordance with the [words indistinct] of the International Labor Organization, Solidarity was set up and registered. In the period of martial law, representatives of the authorities many times guaranteed the activity of Solidarity on statutory principles. The reactivation of the trade unions in a genuine form, in accordance with the will of the trade unionists [passage indistinct] which took place before 13 December 1981. There is no doubt that without the workers' protest [passage indistinct] social and professional organizations, the achievements of the renewal movement would not have been possible. The result of this was the beginning of the economic reform [passage indistinct]. In the field of the defense of workers' rights and soical policy, great progress was made. Despite all the difficulties in Poland, a new climate of hope for a better tomorrow reigned. Solidarity was not the only factor in these transformations, but it was definitely the most important.

Rejecting the enormous number of untrue or exaggerated and unjust accusations which have been made against Solidarity, it must be recognized that in connection with the broad influence it exerted on social life, it also bears a part of the responsibility for the serious crisis which has happened to our country.

Solidarity made efforts to limit its activity, to avoid many local conflicts, and to ensure control over union bulletins, sometimes undertaking political propaganda to clearly separate the union's activity from that of opposition groups. It also tried to stop the huge batches of demands made by the union masses, especially demands concerning living conditions, wages and supplies, and also to calm down the trade unionists. Such action was, however, clearly insufficient. Although the situation was very difficult, mistrust of the authorities grew. Irritation with the more and more onerous economic situation grew. Many conflicts were provoked. The young mass movement was very difficult to lead. Solidarity, however, should have defended the idea of accord and of a limited sociotrade union program more decisively and consistently.

In a situation of a collapsing economy, of a crisis of weakened authority -- which threatened the basis of the system of government; and of the expectation of allies, increasingly worried at the state of our country, only mutual understanding and cooperation between society and the authorities offered a change of perpetuating and securing the achievements of the renewal. That understanding and good will, as well as imigination and courage, was lacking on both sides. The impulsive and spontaneous reaction of the trade union members to the conflicts and blatant evidence of injustice emerging partly from many former wrongs -- which had been (?festering) for years -- hampered, as Cardinal Wyszynski said, the harnessing of the most noble impulses of Solidarity for the good of the republic. Trade union activity needed and needs the method of small steps, that is, the gradual achievement of desired goals in a spirit of caution, patience and circumspection. It will not be easy to speak of these issues without mutual reproaches and accusations; but it will be necessary to muster the maximum restraint, and at the same time Solidarity must make the effort to take a critical look at its activity and experiences. It is known that a considerable number of trade union activists are ready to do this.

The trade unions should retain their independence, not only of the administration and the state employer, as the Council of Ministers' Committee for Trade Union Affairs terms it, but also of political organizations. John Paul II writes thus about this in "Labor Exercens": the task of the trade unions is not to practise politics in the meaning of the word generally used today. Trade unions are not in the nature of political parties struggling for power and should not be subject to the decisions of political parties or have too close links with them. In this sort of situation, they easily lose the connection with what is their proper task, that is, the safeguarding of the just rights of the working people within the framework of the common good of the whole of society; they become instead a tool for other ends.

A thus-conceived apolitical nature of trade unions can and must be reconciled with respect for the Constitution and the first point of the Gdansk agreements. This will require a clear curtailment of the activity of Solidarity on the one hand, and a safeguarding of the autonomy of the union as regards the political authorities on the other.

The proposals, published by the Council of Ministers' Committee for Trade Union Affairs regarding the trade union movement, assume a discussion of the organizational rebuilding of the trade union movement in accordance with the will of the working class and working people in genral. In connection with this it is essential to accept the principle of pluralism, which was shown sufficiently clearly over the last dozen months or so by the setting up by working people in Poland of various trade union organiaztions [passage indistinct].

REPORTAGE CONTINUES ON BULGARIA'S MLADENOV VISIT

Warsaw Dinner 19 Apr

LD201254 Warsaw PAP in English 1100 GMT 20 Apr 82

[Text] Warsaw, 19 Apr (PAP) -- Members of the Bulgarian Communist Party's Politburo and foreign minister of the People's Republic of Bulgaria Petur Mladenov arrived today on an official visit of friendship to Poland.

At Warsaw's Okecie Airport decorated with Polish and Bulgarian flags the guest was greeted by Political Bureau member and PUWP CC secretary, Poland's Foreign Minister Jozef Czyrek.

Polish-Bulgarian plenary talks aimed at reviewing mutual relations of both countries and also some international issues started here in the Foreign Ministry. The talks chaired by Polsih and Bulgarian Foreign Ministers Jozef Czyrek and Petur Mladenov were preceded by a short meeting of both ministers.

According to information obtained by PAP, the Monday talks dealt with bilateral relations. The sides stressed the importance of the tightening of the Polish-Bulgarian cooperation which, by serving the economic development of both countries, consolidates the unity and strength of the socialist community.

The talks also touched upon economic issues. In the quinquennium of 1981-1985 the estimated value of mutual trade turnovers will amount to some 3 billion roubles, up 30 per cent from the previous period. Bulgaria is interested in tapping Poland's spare production capacities, developing coproduction -- especially in electro-engineering, and in the Polish-built turnkey industrial projects.

Tonight [as received], Polish Foreign Minister Jozef Czyrek entertained his Bulgarian counterpart Petur Mladenov to dinner.

During the meeting, which was attended by the Polish United Peasants Party leader, Vice-Premier Roman Malinowski, the head of the Polish diplomacy stressed that the two durable foundations of the Marxist-Leninist ideals and political objectives. Their cooperation on the international forum is marked by unity of views on all the issues. The minister emphasized that Poland highly evaluates Bulgaria's efforts and her constructive actions serving the transformation of the Balkans into a zone of peace and good-neighbourly cooperation.

Jozef Czyrek also said that Poland appreciates the political and economic support of brotherly Bulgaria. In recent times, Poland had seen numerous examples of the Bulgarian friends' concern over the development of the situation in Poland.

The minister went on to say that the process of international detente was hampered, the main responsibility for which falls on the American administration and NATO states. In the present situation the key task is to counter-act the danger of war.

Minister Czyrek pointed to the need for a closer than ever cooperation of the two countries within the Warsaw Treaty and the CMEA.

It is our unfailing will to further strengthen the allied ties, make progress in the long-term development of economic relations, restore allround contacts between the societies of the two countries, states Minister Jozef Czyrek.

This direction of activity lies in the most vital interest of the brotherly nations. We should seek, stressed minister Czyrek, ever more effective methods to enrich our cooperation and jointly make a creative contribution to the consolidation of our allround relations.

Next, the floor was taken by Minister Petur Mladenov. He said that Bulgaria welcomes Poland's efforts to reconstruct the leading role of the party, its organizational and ideological consolidation as well as restoration of its ties with the working class. We are well aware of the complexity of the economic problems which you are solving, he added.

They will be solved through the persistent work of the entire Polish nation, with the brotherly assistance of the countries of the socialist community. The new forms of economic cooperation which are now in the forus of our attention will doubtless contribute to overcoming the effects of the crisis in Poland.

Referring to some current international issues, the Bulgarian foreign minister said his country would do everything which is necessary to strengthen peace and confidence, to develop cooperation in the Balkan Peninsula. Bulgaria's proposals for the creation of a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans are a manifestation of this constructive line of her foreign policy, stated Petur Mladenov.

Minister Mladenov emphasized that the talks in Warsaw once more confirmed full unity of opinions and stands of our two countries. He voiced the conviction that they would add to the development of bilateral relations and the further consolidation of unity and cohesion of the socialist community.

Warsaw Castle Visited

LD201346 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0900 GMT 20 Apr 82

[Text] Today is the second day of the official friendly visit to our country of Petur Mladenov, member of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign affairs of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. During the morning the Bulgarian guest visited the interior of the Royal Castle, acquainting himself with its history and reconstruction.

The Polish-Bulgarian plenary talks at the Foreign Ministry will conclude at noon. They will touch on certain international questions and the role of both countries in the struggle for peace and security and against the arms race.

Visit Concludes 20 Apr

LD202148 Warsaw PAP in English 2004 GMT 20 Apr 82

[Text] Warsaw, 20 Apr (PAP) -- The official friendly visit to Poland by the Bulgarian foreign minister, member of the Political Bureau of the Bulgarian Communist Party Petur Mladenov came to an end today.

The Bulgarian minister was received today by President of the Council of State Henryk Jablonski with whom he talked on further development of bilateral relations and on international situation. In the afternoon he was seen off to Warsaw airport by Polish foreign minister, member of the Political Bureau of the PUWP CC and CC Secretary Jozef Czyrek.

The course and results of the visit which served to further strengthen friendship and cooperation between both countries are presented in a joint communique (summary given separately).

The Polish-Bulgarian plenary [words indistinct] chaired by both foreign ministers came to an end today. This round of talks was devoted to some aspects of the international situation. Emphasized was the role of both countries in struggle for peace, detente and security, and against the arms race. Both sides voiced their determination to contribute to a successful end of the Madrid confrerence, in the spirit of Helsinki, as well as to a constructive and fruitful course of the 2nd U.N. special session on disarmament.

USSR'S SHITIKOV-LED DELEGATION CONTINUES VISIT

Met by Jaruzelski

LD201840 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 20 Apr 82

[Text] First secretary of the PZPR central committee, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and chairman of Military Council of National Salvation, Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, has received a delegation of the Soviet-Polish Friendship Society [TPP-R], headed by Aleksey Shitikov, chairman of the Council of the Union of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and chairman of the Soviet-Polish Friendship Society. The delegation is in Poland to mark the 37th anniversary of the signing of the friendship treaty between Poland and the Soviet Union.

During a warm conversation, the significance of the activity of the friendship societies in strengthening and developing the bonds between the Polish nation and the nations of the Soviet Union was stressed. The first secretary of the Central Committee addressed wishes for further fruitful activity to both societies.

The meeting was attended by members of the delegation, including pilot cosmonaut, Major General Petr Klimuk. Soviet ambassador to Poland, Boris Aristov, was also present. On the Polish side, the meeting was attended by Central Committee Secretary Marian Orzechowski and chairman of the Main Board of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society, Stanislaw Wronski.

Radom Visited; Grzyb Present

LD202216 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 20 Apr 82

[Excerpt] This morning the Soviet delegation with Aleksey Shitikov visited Radom. They were greeted by the political and administrative authorities of the voivodship, led by Bogdan Prus, first secretary of the Voivodship PZPR Committee and Voivoda Col Alojzy Wojciechowski. Politburo member Zofia Grzyb was also present.

Madej Heard at Gala

LD201854 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 20 Apr 82

[Text] A gala concert organized by the National Committee of the Front of National Unity [OKFJN] and the Main Board of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society [TPP-R] has come to an end in the Polski Theatr in Warsaw. The theater, decked out festively, was filled with representatives of Warsaw factories and institutions, veterans of the workers movement; young people; representatives of social organizations and TPP-R activists.

Attending were members of the supreme party and state authorities -- Kazimierz Barcikowski, Jozef Czyrek, Miroslaw Milewski, Stefan Olszowski and Marian Orzechowski; members of the leaderships of the political parties -- member of the Presidium and secretary of the ZSL Supreme Committee Jerzy Szymanek and member of the Presidium and secretary of the SD Central Committee Alfred Beszterda; members of the government, including Deputy Premier Zbigniew Madej; heads of departments of the party Central Committee; and representatives of social organizations, including deputy chairman of the OKFJN Wit Drapich and chairman of the Main Board of the TPP-R Stanislaw Wronski. The capital's administrators were also there. A delegation of the Soviet-Polish Friendship Society [TPR-P] was present led by Aleksey Shitikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the Council of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet and chairman of the Central Board of the TPR-P. Also among the guests was a delegation from the Soviet Northern Group of Forces led by Col Gen Yuriy Zarudin.

The heads of the embassies of the socialist countries were there, including Soviet Ambassador Boris Aristov.

After the orchestra had played the national anthems of Poland and the Soviet Union, Zbigniew Madej, chairman of the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers and deputy premier, made a speech. He said, among other things:

[Begin recording] Esteemed comrades dear friends. esteemed gathering: Thirty-seven years have passed since the signing of the historic treaty of friendship. mutual aid and post-war cooperation between the Polish People's Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

In recent months Polish-Soviet friendship has been submitted to a particularly difficult test. As a result of many distortions and errors made in the past, our country and its economy find themselves in a profound crisis. Many party organizations and a considerable section of the working class perceived the danger earlier. They spoke out about it.

These voices, however, were not taken into account. This situation was eagerly exploited by the opponents of socialism. For many years they had been building the organizational structures of an antisocialist opposition, which took advantage of the outburst of worker dissatisfaction in August 1980.

And this time, too, as always in moments of difficulty for Poland, we saw how strong and lasting are the foundations of the relations linking us with the Soviet Union. Once again it turned out that when in need we can count on its support and help. In the difficult period of last year, we obtained from the Soviet Union a foreign currency loan, and imports from the Soviet Union kept up at a regular pace, even though we were not able to meet our commitments.

In the first months of this year, we received from the Soviet Union consumer goods worth a total of more than 432 million. They contributed to an improvement in supply and allowed for the alleviation of acute deficits in some sectors. The aid in the form of grain and fodder must be particularly stressed. The grain loan, on the order of 450,000 tons, is all the more meaningful because we have received it at a time when the Soviet Union is having difficulties meeting its own needs.

All these types of aid of a raw material nature are absolutely invaluable. In the first quarter of this year they exceed the amounts agreed upon in treaty commitments. This aid allows for a considerable alleviation of the supply difficulties being experienced by Polish processing industries and of difficulties in connection with the curtailment of imports from the capitalist countries, with our country's debts and with the economic sanctions applied against Poland by the American administration and other West European countries.

Deliveries of Soviet textiles, chemicals and machinery parts enable a better use of the production potential of Polish industry, guaranteeing work for many factories and employment to many thousands of people.

However, the most important factor defining the future profile of relations between Poland and the Soviet Union is the permament reorientation toward tightening economic links and deepening cooperating with the socialist countries. These are plans calculated over many years. Their implementation will exert a fundamental influence on Poland's economy.

Esteemed gathering! To mark today's anniversary, we send from Poland words of fraternal friendship to the Russian nation and to all Soviet peoples; to the CPSU and to its Central Committee; to the Supreme Soviet and Government of the USSR; to all Soviet people, our tried and tested friends. We wish you successful implementation of your great goals, success in the development of your homeland, in the struggle for peace and social progress, for new victories for the idea of socialism.

Long live the fraternal friendship between Poland and the Soviet Union! Long live peace and socialism! [applause] [end recording]

USSR Envoy Addresses Gala

LD210930 Warsaw PAP in English 0800 GMT 21 Apr 82

["Soviet Ambassador's Speech at Polski Theatre (Excerpts)" -- PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 20 Apr (PAP) -- Speaking at Warsaw's Polski Theatre today, Soviet Ambassador to Poland Boris Aristov emphasized that the treaty on friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance has been serving unfailingly the interests of the peoples of the Soviet Union and Poland, has become a lasting guarantee of security of the Polish borders.

The Soviet Union pays enormous attention to the persistent efforts of the Polish United Workers' Party and its allied political groups towards overcoming the crisis. The actions taken by the Polish Government in the defence of socialism have been received with understanding in the Soviet Union and the other countries of the soci list community. The firm steps of the sovereign socialist Polish state have thwarted the plans of internal counter-revolution, put an end to anarchy and disrepair of the state system.

A great credit for that goes to the PUWP, the Martial Council of National Redemption led by Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski.

The policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state towards the brotherly Poland is based on durable, historically tested foundations of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism.

The Soviet people are deeply convinced that the working masses of socialist Poland guided by the Polish United Workers' Party will successfully overcome the difficulties.

The agreements reached recently in Moscow by the leaderships of our parties and governments have created qualitatively new possibilities for wider cooperation between the USSR and Poland. Considerable reserves of cooperation between our countries have been today mobilized to stabilize the situation in the Polish economy.

I am pleased to inform that the commitments taken by the Soviet Union to step up goods deliveries to Poland as envisaged in the plan of the annual protocol on trade exchange are carried out successfully. The plan of Soviet deliveries was overstepped by 7 per cent in the first quarter of this year.

The Polish and Soviet economic branches and big enterprises restore and deepen closer production ties. These tasks are handled by recently formed teams of the two countries' specialists equipped with special powers. Positive solutions in this direction have already been adopted in shipbuilding, the auto industry, and in other spheres.

The decisions made on the joint preparation of long-range programmes for economic cooperation in many branches of production are of great significance for doing away with the dependence of People's Poland on the imported coproduction supplies from capitalist countries.

These steps open up new possibilities of a deeper division of labour on the bilateral principles and within the CMEA and of joint mastering progressive methods of production. This will, in turn, bring the economies of the two fraternal countries still more closely and will promote the weakening of the negative impact of sanctions and restrictions applied by the U.S. and some Western countries which attempt to organize economic blockade of Poland and other countries of the socialist community.

By (?consistently) implementing large-scale tasks of communist and socialist building, the USSR and countries of the socialist community attach great importance to ensuring international conditions favourable to this. Faithful to the Leninist principles of foreign policy, socialist countries firmly come out for consolidating peace, disarmament, detente, and for establishing normal good-neighbourly relations among countries and nations.

A set of new Soviet peace initiatives, forwarded by Comrade Leonid Brezhnev at the 17th Congress of Soviet Trade Unions and in his speech in Tashkent, lies in the interests of all nations.

'NEW FORM OF SOVIET COOPERATION' REPORTED

AU201954 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 17-18 Apr 82 p 1

[PAP report: "Over 100 Polish Factories Run by Chemical and Light Industries Will Process Soviet Raw Materials"]

[Text] The delegation of the Ministry of Light Industry of the USSR led by Deputy Minister Vladimir Anikin visited Lodz. The delegation had come to Poland to conclude talks on the processing of Soviet raw materials by Polish factories.

On 16 April the delegation attended a press conference organized by the TEXTILIMPEX foreign trade agency in order to present that huge import-export transaction, which will help exploit the free production capacities of the Polish textile, clothing and leather industries.

The Soviet Union has pledged to supply us with 4,600 tons of cotton, 4,000 tons of wool, 7,000 tons of various synthetic fibers, 13,200 tons of leather and 6,500 tons of cellulose for production of viscose fibers. These supplies mean that the Polish industry will be able to work to its full capacity.

The Soviet raw materials will be processed in Poland into finished articles, which, as Chairman of Textilimpex Jerzy Wojtkowski stressed, will be highly labor-intensive. Most of these articles will be clothes, shoes and so on. This will provide employment not only for spinning and weaving mills, but also for clothing and knitting plants and in some cases for small production workshops. The implementation of this large-scale accord, which has initiated a new form of Polish-Soviet economic cooperation, will be supported by over 100 factories of the light and chemical industries. Some 15 percent of the articles produced under that accord will remain in Poland to supplement the market. In the case of footwear, this will amount to 1.2 million pairs of shoes.

As Deputy Minister V. Anikin said at the press conference, the Soviet Union will try to accelerate the supply of raw materials to the maximum to help the Polish factories that are experiencing a difficult time.

PRESS VIEWS USSR RELATIONS ON TREATY ANNIVERSARY

LD210932 Warsaw PAP in English 0820 GMT 21 Apr 82

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 21 Apr (PAP) -- In commentaries on the 37th anniversary of the Poland-USSR treaty, the Polish dailies write today:

TRYBUNA LUDU, the party newspaper: "While summing up the political, economic and ideological consequences of the April treaty we should, at the same time, seek new opportunities, new motivations for the strengthening of mutual relations and so direct our thoughts towards the future, to the new perspectives of the Polish-Soviet cooperation. "Such perspectives have been drawn up during the recent Polish-Soviet top-level meeting in Moscow."

ZYCIE WARSZAWY, the Warsaw paper: Poland has not had and does not have big power ambitions. Yet as a country aware of its dimensions and possibilities Poland can -- as an ally of the Soviet Union -- add to the improvement in the international climate, to the building of confidence among nations, to the reduction of tension and armaments. "Political realism combined with economic reliability can guarantee secure existence, secure borders and secure future to this and the next generations of Poles, such and no other is the sense of the treaty which was born out of war experiences and has turned out to be important and indispensable at the time of peace."

In a related comment, the daily RZECZPOSPOLITA points out that "the adoption of a string of concrete plans for the widening of Polish-Soviet economic cooperation, the decisions taken to tap Poland's spare production capacities, the Soviet participation in the completion of some of our frozen investment projects as well as the Soviet credits, loans and free financial assistance are bringing closer the moment in which we shall overcome our present economic problems. This is not a short-lived help calculated for one-sided profits or dependence of a partner. This is a lasting element of cooperation based on the principles of internationalism and partnerly relations between the socialist states."

DEPUTY DEFENSE MINISTER SIWICKI LEAVES FOR LIBYA

LD202112 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 20 Apr 82

[Text] At the invitation of the commander in chief of the Libyan Arab Armed Forces, Brigadier Abu Bakr Yunis Jabir, the chief of the General Staff of the Polish Armed Forces, Deputy Minister of National Defense, member of the Military Council of National Salvation, Gen Florian Siwicki, left for a visit to Libya today. The chief of the General Staff of the Polish Armed Forces is accompanied by a group of senior officers.

CZYREK, ARAB LEAGUE'S KLIBI VIEW ISRAELI POLICY

LD201324 Warsaw PAP in English 1110 GMT 20 Apr 82

[Text] Warsaw, 19 Apr (PAP) -- The Arab League's secretary general, Chedli Klibi, has sent a message to the Polish Foreign Minister Jozef Czyrek in which he points to a serious rise in tension along the Lebanese-Israeli border caused by the build-up of Israeli troops, and voices the conviction that Poland, as a member of the U.N. Security Council, will take an active stand on this issue which is so important for the maintenance of world peace and security.

In his reply, Minister Jozef Czyrek writes that this issue is a matter of deep concern for Poland, especially as it is accompanied by a violent aggravation of Israeli repressions against the Arab population in the occupied territories.

He also refers to the particularly indignant, provocative act of terror aimed against the Islamic cult site in Jerusalem.

The Polish foreign minister assures the Arab League secretary general that Poland as a member of the Security Council will continue in her efforts to prevent a further escalation of tension and to bring closer a comprehensive, just and lasting solution to the Middle East conflict.

LEADERS' SPEECHES AT AGRICULTURE SESSION 16 APR

Jaruzelski Address

AU201142 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 17-18 Apr 82 p 3

[PAP report on speech by Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski at the 16 April Warsaw conference at the Council of Ministers office to discuss basic tasks of farming and food production]

[Text] Praising the enormous efforts of farmers, who, despite the shortages of various supplies, continue to efficiently proceed with their spring field work, W. Jaruzelski stressed that agricultural results this year will be a key to stabilizing life in our country. That is why, he said, great responsibility has been imposed on all of us -- on the entire front of the economy, especially on that sector of it which works for agriculture and in agriculture.

Referring to the results of the most recent inspections and various checks, W. Jaruzelski stressed that they strike one especially by the fact that two entities acting under identical conditions achieve absolutely different results. Using a kind of metaphor, we can say that we have two kinds of Poland -- the Poland of exacting and good work and of order and discipline, and the Poland of slovenliness, idleness and indiscipline.

W. Jaruzelski said that administration must be evaluated in an objective and just manner. The defense of the dignity and good name of administration should be effected primarily by one's own daily control check and by self-cleansing.

There are still many bad things around, primarily waste, bad management and red tape. We appreciate, W. Jaruzelski continued, that enormous difficulties have mounted before the entire administrative apparatus, and we know how difficult it is under such conditions to solve many problems. At the same time, we must have an unrelenting sense of the responsibility that devolves on us in the bases in which people fail to exploit all the reserve potential and opportunities that are really there, and in which subjective acts of neglect and not objective factors are to blame for wasting specific possibilities.

Stressing the great opportunities provided for by the economic reform, W. Jaruzelski said that the implementation of the reform in an extremely difficult period was yet another proof of how seriously, responsibly and honestly we regard obligations stemming from renewal.

Never in the history of our country, he said, have so many reforms and laws been introduced precisely in order to democratize and order our life, as have been introduced in the past 4 months of martial law. We will continue this process. The reform should produce results because, among other things, aside from the factor that encourages discipline from above -- a factor that under our Polish conditions, and in our Polish mentality developed through history, has always encountered difficulties -- the reform helps create the mechanisms that encourage discipline from below that have been extremely weak in their operation to date. What we want to do is exploit to the maximum the mechanism of grassroots discipline and responsibility, and a sense of the connection between general social interests and the interests of the individual, of the working man. A great role in this regard should be played by the PZPR, the leading force in socialist construction, and by the ZSL and the SD, which are allies of the PZPR and which cooperate with it in a partnerlike manner, as well as by all nonparty elements that constructively share with us the efforts to strengthen the socialist state and to develop socioeconomic life. We must maximally exploit all the forces of this patriotic potential. W. Jaruzelski stressed the special role and prospects of the civic committees for national rebirth, which are developing successfully. Many voivodships have acquired very interesting experiences and solutions in this regard. The committees are -- should be -- W. Jaruzelski stressed, a patriotic movement that will develop from below -- which is most valuable -- genuine national agreement based on the overriding interest of our people and state.

W. Jaruzelski then discussed the role of the people's councils and referred to the most important problems of the cooperative movement. Indicating the elements that determine the rate of overcoming our crisis, including in particular the efforts to expand our friendly cooperation with the socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union, W. Jaruzelski stressed that efforts to reconstruct the ties between the authorities and the people -- the worker class -- is of key significance today. We must, he said, do this primarily in such a way that the people agree that we govern and lead effectively, wisely and justly, and that we are good managers. This conference, he said, should constitute an important step toward achieving our appointed goals.

Michalek Address

AU201412 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 17-18 Apr 82 pp 1,3

[PAP report on speech delivered by Zbigniew Michalek, PZPR Central Committee secretary, at the 16 April conference in Warsaw on major tasks confronting agriculture and food economy]

[Text] The most important conclusions from checks made on preparations for the spring campaign in agriculture were discussed by Zbigniew Michalek. He emphasized that those checks had provided much material which allows for a deep insight into the current situation in agriculture and its services. The recommendations worked out on this basis, he said, should be handled with full responsibility, and the tasks they imply should be consistently accomplished to the end. All our efforts must be concentrated on eliminating the revealed omissions, irregularities and, frequently, common mess and negligence.

What matters is to make better use of production assets available in agriculture and the food economy, and to obtain better results under the present farming conditions. This is more important, that the control has confirmed the well known shortages in production supplies to the entire sphere of food economy.

The most important point, the speaker emphasized, is to use all lands available for farming purposes. The control carried out by the military has shown that 233,000 hectares of land were very poorly tilled, and that a part of that area lay fallow. This spring every plot of arable land must be sown.

To maximally compensate for the shortage of fertilizers and of plant protection means it is also highly important to improve farming practices and to reduce losses in agricultural raw materials.

While emphasizing the need for more respect for land and its value, the Central Committee secretary said that the agricultural acts passed recently by the Sejm marked a significant step in this direction. The package of agricultural acts, in particular those guaranteeing the stability of private farms in Poland, is undoubtedly of great political, social and psychological importance. However, those acts must not obstruct the rationalized use of all farmlands. Remedies must be applied wherever land does not produce due returns.

While speaking about interfarm changes in land tenure, Z. Michalek noted in particular the need for hastening formalities concerning land turnover. It is the duty of surveying bureaus, communes, branches of the food economy bank and notary offices to streamline those deals.

The efficiency of agricultural production largely depends on the production infrastructure and particularly on land amelioration, the speaker continued. While drawing conclusions from this fact, the PZPR and the United Peasants Party have set, in their joint guidelines, ambitious tasks in the sphere of land amelioration. However, those tasks are not being implemented. The great shortage of draining machines and pipes has been hampering operations. But we must self-critically admit that we are a long way from having done our best to overcome the difficulties. This year voivodes have fallen short of the investment plan for land amelioration by Z2 million. Draining pipes are short in supply, but voivodships possessing the suitable deposits of clay have not taken steps to produce them at their brick plants. Jelenia Gora and Przemysl Voivodships are exceptions.

There have also been many critical remarks about the use of mineral fertilizers and plant protection means. Occasionally, they are being wasted as a result of careless storage and transportation. Problems in the sphere of technical equipment in agriculture are even more numerous. There are shortages of spare parts, tires, batteries and so forth. We do not intend to turn a blind eye to obligations borne by industry with regard to farming. However, more pains must be taken at the same time to improve the use of technical equipment, to provide a system for controlling the quality of work performed by tractor drivers and mechanics, and to conserve machines more carefully. The fact of wasting equipment, which is rather common, must be fought.

Having noted the first apparent results of adapting metallurgical and machine-building capacities to the needs of agriculture, the speaker said that those results were hardly noticeable. Agricultural machinery industries are wrestling with many difficulties, The problem of simple tools and metalware for the countryside must be the first to be settled. Conditions for the manufacture of some of those articles are also available in craftsmanship, local industries, at state machine stations and other enterprises.

While referring to livestock buildings and particularly to vacating poultry farms, Z. Michalek said that it was necessary to take rapid and resolute steps to make use of those facilities.

While speaking about matters concerning production and supply services in agriculture, the speaker said that many questions had to be settled independently within the commune or the unit servicing farms. Those institutions must turn into reliable partners of the farmer. Under the economic reform, this trend is compulsory. Of course, the reform itself will not settle all problems existing in that field. We must count on selfless and committed people. At the same time, we must consistently fight manifestations of bureaucracy, dishonesty, private interests and favoritism which occur in the countryside. It is highly important to improve agricultural services which are there primarily to give professional advice and to act locally, and not just to write reports.

To defend the interests of the countryside is the duty of party echelons and organizations. Although this phenomenon is still not commonplace, PZPR and United Peasants Party members are turning today into a real sociopolitical force defending what is right. The countryside can see that and can draw its logical conclusions. For this reason confidence in the just authorities should increase in the commune and at the village.

Against that background the Central Committee secretary called attention to the need for pursuing an appropriate cadre policy in the countryside. In particular, he emphasized that the PZPR and United Peasants Party must assess people in accordance with what they do, and not by what they say.

To make our country self-supporting in food, it is highly important to increase grain and fodder production, the Central Committee secretary said.

Taking into account the fact that the area under winter crops is insufficient, we must maximally expand the area under spring crops, particularly barley and corn which are excellent for feeding pruposes. A great deal will depend on improved farming practices. Particularly grain crops and potatoes require better tilling and tending. The number of pigs depends on these yields.

While examining the progress made in the procurement of farm produce, Z. Michalek drew attention to the need to find a way to intensify grain procurement. For that purpose, urgent steps must be taken in the commune and at the village. Farmers lagging behind in grain deliveries must be brought to accurate account. The accounts are to be settled in a civil way, preferably in public view of the entire village.

While tackling some questions concerning public life in the countryside, the Central Committee secretary found that the most important of them was to invigorate farmers' self-managing bodies: agricultural circles, rural housewives' circles, branch unions and associations of farm producers. Their traditions, he said, are great, but their prospects and tasks are even greater. Farmers' self-managing organizations must turn into an authentic representation of private farmers' production and social interests. We will provide conditions for developing all forms of farmers' and rural self-governing bodies: conciliation commissions, water supply committees, the Union of Socialist Polish Youth and the Rural Youth Union. We will meet all their aspirations and needs halfway. People's councils and their commissions should have a decisive say. While participating in decisionmaking, they will be the most efficient partners in all administrative moves.

Particular heed is to be paid to the stabilization of young farmers who are needed in the countryside. We must help them take root, must show prospects for farming, and at the same time help them develop farm production and protect them against bureaucracy.

Our agrarian policy, the PZPR Central Committee secretary stated at the end, is open to all farmers and all farming sectors. We provide equal economic and social conditions for them. We will see to it that industry gives its due to agriculture. In a word, we are stabilizing agrarian policy and, notwithstanding the crisis, gradually coping with the obligations with regard to the countryside set forth in the ninth party congress resolution and in the common guidelines adopted by the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and the United Peasants Party Supreme Committee Presidium with regard to agrarian policy.

VOIVODSHIP INSPECTIONS CONTINUE WITH TORUN

LD202120 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 20 Apr 82

[Text] An armed forces inspection commission is carrying out a comprehensive check of Torun Voivodship. The commission is headed by the chief of the Armed Forces Inspectorate, Lt Gen Wladyslaw Mroz, and is comprised of military specialists and representatives of the Ministry of Administration, Local Economy and Environmental Protection. The subject of the checks, which will carried out through 28 April, are various matters connected with social and economic life of the voivodship, such as efficiency of the functioning of the state administration [words indistinct] service to the consumer and the organization of labor in work enterprises. In the first stage the city of Torun was checked out. In many cases, at the suggestion of the commission, summary corrections to the system of work in various institutions were made. The 2-week checks, just like the previous ones in Pila and Warsaw Voivodships, has as its aim to gain objective and fully credible information on the state of implementation of the socioeconomic tasks in the voivodship.

OZDOWSKI ADDRESSES ANTISPECULATION COMMISSION

LD202122 Warsaw PAP in English 2032 GMT 20 Apr 82

[Text] Warsaw, 20 Apr (PAP) -- The Central Anti-Profiteering Commission, heads of the sister voivodship (provincial) commissions and deputy commandants of the voivodship police headquarters held a session at the Council of Ministers today.

Opening the debate, chairman of the Central Anti-Speculation Commission, Deputy Prime Minister Jerzy Ozdowski said that profiteering has its source in the present extremely difficult economic conditions, disintegration of the social life, inefficiency of the system of control as well as a low moral of some people. The war on profiteering should be fought not against the signs but against the cause of this phenomenon.

Police Chief Commandant General Jozef Beim stated that 6,646 crimes against consumers were detected last year, that is nearly 50 percent up on 1980. The number of cases handled by the misdemeanor courts doubled over the period. A half of the profiteers are retail network employees and more than 20 per cent are work and school dodgers.

The proclamation of martial law reduced for a short time the crimes and offences hurting consumers. A little while later, however, black marketeering was revived -- very often, in a new, more clandestine form. Under the circumstances, the law enforcement organs focused on combatting the organized, wide-scaled speculation. In the first three months of the current year, goods worth 185 million zlotys were retrieved from black market dealers.

DAILY REPORTS POOR RESULTS OF 'GRAIN LOAN'

AU201116 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 17-18 Apr 82 p 2

[Leszek Chmielowski report: "Grain Loan Is Still Little Popular"]

[Text] During the 16 April press conference organized by the Ministry of Finances journalists were informed about the results to date of the grain loan.

The idea of the grain loan emerged as a result of the evaluation of the grain situation. The plans for this year involved the purchase of 3.6 million tons of grains, but only 1.74 million tons were purchased up to 14 April. This amount is enough to meet the requirements of bakers, the processing industries and trade for a period of 3 months under the conditions of bread rationing.

To be able to continue to regularly buy bread and other flour products we must have at least 500,000 tons of grains a month or 6 million tons a year. This does not, of course, include the grains used by the food industries and agriculture for fodder. In such a case the total amount of the grains we need would be over 10 million tons. The inference is clear but sad: We are short of grains and we have to rely mostly on imports in order to exist one way or another.

To be accurate: Grains are in short supply at procurement stations, but they are still plentiful in barns and granaries. The situation in some regions of the country is outright paradoxical in this connection: Individual rural shops receive more flour than the state is able to procure from the villages in which these shops are situated.

One way to stimulate the sales of grains by farmers was to be the grain loan. The grain producers who offer to sell grains up to 30 June 1982 will be paid as of 1 July in grain bonds, on which an annual interest of 7 percent will begin to accumulate from the day of issue. The banks will cash the bonds and the accrued interest between 1 January 1983 and 31 December 1985. The nominal value will be calculated in the grain prices in force on the day on which the bonds are cashed.

This privilege is the guarantee that farmers will not lose on the deal if the grain prices increase within the time concerned. Let us bear in mind that the value of the grains supplied under the terms of the grain loan will also be added -- in line with the procurement prices in force in the day of the sale -- to the value of the sold production taken into consideration when pensions and annuities are calculated.

The Ministry of Finances assumes that grain bonds may be issued earlier than 1 July 1982.

How far will this appeal to the peasant's sense of money go and how far will it induce peasants to stop hoarding grains? As things are, the present results are more than modest. The aforementioned 1.74 million tons of grains purchased up to 15 April include 264,000 tons bought under the terms of free sales and of the grain loan, which is little if we consider that the plan is to buy 1.4 million tons by the end of June. In addition, farmers had to be paid in cash for 260,000 of those 264,000 tons and accepted the grain loan for just 4,000 tons. It is true that the coming weeks may see an improvement in this situation, but as things are, energetic action must be taken and perhaps additional incentives will have to be offered it the grain loan is to succeed.

ARMY DAILY VIEWS STATE ADMINISTRATION PROBLEMS

AU201406 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 17-18 Apr 82 p 3

[PAP report: "Improvements in State Administration Performance"]

[Excerpt] The changes in our country continue to pose increasingly more difficult and responsible tasks for local state administration employees. Regardless of his position, every employee of an administrative body influences directly and indirectly the living standards of his countrymen. On the one hand, he influences the conditions of the country's sociopolitical life by executing the decisions made by the state authority, and on the other hand, he deals himself with many individual cases brought by citizens. That is why the performance of people in the state administration, their qualifications, their knowledge of problems and law, their conscientiousness, punctuality, civilized standards and sympathy toward petitioners determine to a great extent the social climate, society's attitude toward the bodies of power and the authority of the offices.

The Government Press Bureau notes that the Council of Ministers has initiated measures to ensure unceasing improvements in the administrative cadres of all levels, including leading and auxiliary posts. Changes in personnel are no longer something secret and embarrasing. Changes in leading posts are published together with the reasons for them.

The professional group of the local employees of the state administration bodies is not too large in comparison with the 36 million of the people in Poland. There are about 100,000 such employees, which amounts to one of Europe's lower indexes. Over 70 percent of state administrative employees work in the basic bodies of the state administration and only about 24,000 work in voivodship offices. Most of them are women, who account for about 74 percent of all state employees, of whom 40 percent are below 29. State employees are highly qualified and almost 50 percent of them possess higher education and the rest at least secondary education. State administration employees change their jobs rather frequently. For example, 30-40 percent of the heads of rural parishes and rural towns have changed their jobs in the past 2 years. The large-scale fluctuation of administrative employees is caused primarily by the hardships of the profession -- many tasks and responsibilities -- by restricted opportunities for promotion and by lower wages compared with other professions.

POREBSKI ADDRESSES WROCLAW PZPR MEETING

LD202310 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 20 Apr 82

[Text] During a party meeting the Wroclaw railway rolling stock factory, the need to raise party discipline and the demands on persons who have responsible functions in the party were discussed.

(?The meeting) was devoted to the resolution of the Seventh PZPR Central Committee plenum and to the draft declaration "What Are We Struggling for, Where Are We Going."

Summing up the discussion on the declaration, Tadeusz Porebski, member of the Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Wroclaw, stated that the document is being discussed in other party organizations as well and that various, proposals have been made.

GENERAL VIEWS PZPR IDEOLOGICAL CONFERENCE, YOUTH

AU2013 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 16-18 Apr 82 pp 1, 2

[R. Naleszkiewicz interview with Brig Gen Tadeusz Szacilo, deputy chief of the Main Political Administration of the Polish Armed Forces: "Room for Action" -- date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Question] Our interview is taking place immediately after the first all-Poland ideological-theoretical conference of the PZPR. Why was such a conference convened only after 36 years of the party's running our state? Why so late?

[Answer] I think that demand for ideology has always been great, but perhaps one has not always been able to exploit scientific research in the political practice of daily life.

[Question] Do you think that people were afraid a little of Marxist ideology? After all, agreement between words and actions is one of the canons of that ideology, but our practice has been mostly at variance with it.

[Answer] The glaring contradiction that has existed -- especially most recently -- between theory and practice has often cancelled the worth of our ideology, especially in the minds of sensitive young people.

[Question] During the conference much was said about daily issues from the viewpoint of their Marxist interpretation, and this helped to see more clearly the reasons for the crisis and the ways of overcoming it. Why was this not done earlier? Perhaps we would have avoided many of the present troubles?

[Answer] There were many communities, especially scientific communities, which did discuss the issues in question. However, it is true that the conference was the first national conference of such importance, in which the entire Politburo, Central Committee members, first secretaries of the voivodship committees, representatives of science and culture, workers and peasants participated.

[Question] What about the armed forces?

[Answer] Representatives of the armed forces also contributed to the conference. As for the armed forces' ideological life in general, we have no special reasons for contrition. We have organized three such conferences in the past 8 years, for the armed forces, of course.

[Question] In your speech at the conference you spoke about the large areas of spontaneous social action for the civic committees for national rebirth. However, it is a fact that young people participate in those committees almost symbolically, without any special enthusiasm. From my talks with committee activists I have gathered that the committees lack institutional attributes, such as rubber stamps, premises and so on, which is a brake on their formal activities. They also miss a legal act giving them some powers and they assert that they are without legal competences, which makes their work very difficult in such areas as control and uncovering of abuses.... Perhaps this is also a reason for young people's reluctant and low participation in the work of these committees?

[Answer] I would not say that this is the reason for young people's reluctance. No genuine social movement has begun its activities by wielding rubber stamps, which are symbols of formalizing social aspirations and setups.

This formalization arrives with time, but every movement must have ideas and genuine requirements at its beginning. People organize themselves to increase the effectiveness of their activities for some specific purpose, and no one has rubber stamps on one's mind. The movement of the civic committee for national rebirth is now in its initial stage. It is still a spontaneous movement, one that does not possess ready organizational structures. All that it possesses is of its own doing. Of course, we support it, but this support must be delicate and nonbureaucratic and must not trammel initiative.

[Question] But what about powers and competences? Who defines them?

[Answer] At present we are unable to define either its tasks, or its powers or its structures. We must bear in mind that the movement's tasks depend on the inventiveness and ingenuity of its activists and on life's practical needs.

[Question] Why are young people so passive, reluctant and suspicious?

[Answer] I do not agree with this initial thesis. Young people are not passive, reluctant and suspicious. They never have been.

[Question] Such views were also proclaimed at the conference.

[Answer] I do not share them. The very practice denies them. In the seventies when the crisis was increasing young people were intellectually and socially vigorous and were morally sensitive to evil. At that time people said frequently that young people were not interested in politics. My experience of meeting young people in those days also denied such views: They were interested in politics, although they criticized it very often.

I confess that I have expected more young people to participate in the movement of rebirth and that they would find in it a very large and rewarding room for activity. After all, the movement offers large opportunities for implementing young people's requirements and aspirations. Unfortunately, this is not the case, as our data show. Young people account for only about 20 percent of the committees' membership, but they are active, and I obtain positive impressions from my personal meetings with them.

[Question] But that 20 percent seems to confirm the view that young people are reluctant.

[Answer] Not all of them know that the movement of rebirth is a genuine social movement, and in many communities views continue to circulate that this movement is run administratively and has been programmed. These views are often strengthened on purpose. In the past 16 months the antisocialist forces exploited genuine acts of neglect, but if there were no such acts, there would not have been any opportunity for antisocialist activity. Attacks were directed chiefly at young people, whose sensitivenss to evil was responsible for the fact that they succumbed to the slogans, which were often demagogical and which were against the evils at hand. I think that we can reverse that process, provided we observe the basic principle of Marxism: The agreement between words and deeds. If this is so it will be impossible not to trust us.

FASCIST YOUTH GROUP ROUNDED UP IN SZCZECIN

LD201450 Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 20 Apr 82

[Text] As a result of the action of the Szczecin Civic Militia, a group of 18 young people from the Niebuszewo district of this town has been rounded up. The group is called the Fascist Organization of Renewal [Faszystowska Organizacja Odnowy] headed by a young worker from the Szczecin repair shipyard CRYF. Of the 18-strong group, only two are of age. The remainder are aged between 15 and 17 years, they are pupils at an elementary school, and the majority of them have stayed down a class. They have already chalked up petty extortion from their peers along with more serious break-ins and thefts.

YOUTH GROUP HOLDS MEETING ON EDUCATION

LD201626 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 20 Apr 82

[Text] Matters relating to young people studying in secondary schools and colleges and aspects of the program of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP] in this area were the subject of a session of the ZSMP Presidium in Warsaw today. Participating in the session, which was opened and chaired by Jerzy Jaskiernia, were Boleslaw Faron, minister of education and upbringing; Wladyslaw Kata, deputy head of the Science and Education Department of the party Central Committee; and representatives of the directorates of the central institutions which deal with matters relating to the younger generation. During the session a great deal of attention was devoted to the social and living conditions of students, the organization of free time and matters concerning the proper organization of the cultural, educational, sporting and tourist activity which fulfill an essential educational function among the youth.

PAP: FORMER OFFICIALS STAND TRIAL IN WARSAW

LD202140 Warsaw PAP in English 2010 GMT 20 Apr 82

[Text] Warsaw, 20 Apr (PAP) -- A trial of former Deputy Minister of [Machine] Engineering Industry Janusz Szotek and his wife accused of unlawful appropriation of an estate started today before the Warsaw Voivodship Court. At today's court hearings Szotek rejected the charge levelled by the prosecutor.

Also today the Warsaw Voivodship Court opened proceedings in the trial of former deputy head of the office of Planning Commission Chairman Jerzy Kozarzewski. He stands accused of accepting bribes totalling 5.5 million zlotys and 3,700 dollars which he received for granting 64 coupons authorizing to car purchases [as received] at low official prices. Another defendant in this trial, Leszek Zarosinski, former counsellor at the office of former Planning Commission Chairman Tadeusz Wrzaszczyk, is accused of helping Kozarzewski in his unlawful venture. Two more people are in the dock on similar charges.

On the first day of court hearings attorneys for the defence motioned for psychiatric tests to be administered to two of the defendants. The motion was accepted and the hearings were adjourned.

The issue of granting coupons authorizing to car purchases at low official prices is one of the charges facing the former Planning Commission Chairman Tadeusz Wrzaszczyk who is under investigation.

BRIEFS

NEW AMBASSADOR TO CUBA -- On 16 April Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the State Council, received Stanislaw Jarzabek, new ambassador of the Polish People's Republic to the Republic of Cuba. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 17-18 Apr 82 p 2 AU]

TRADE WITH USSR -- Warsaw 16 Apr (PAP) -- Since 1969, the USSR has bought 44 factories of sulphuric acid and of derivative products based on a complete documentation of the Biprokwas office of designing and executing investment projects of the inorganic industry in Gliwice. Several such projects are now being implemented. Polish-Soviet talks are under way on starting the construction of another four sulphuric acid factories in the USSR. These will be huge plants with the processing capacity of half a million tons of sulphuric acid annually. In the past few years, the designing and building of such plants have become a speciality of Polish experts. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 0817 GMT 16 Apr 82 LD]

SCINTEIA REPORT ON CEAUSESCU PRC VISIT

AU191855 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 18 April 82 pp 1,5

["The Official Friendship Visit to the PRC by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP Secretary General and President of the Socialist Republic of Romania" -- SCINTEIA headline]

[Text] Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the RCP, president of Romania, together with Elena Ceausescu, paid an official visit of friendship to the People's Republic of China over April 13-17, 1982, at the invitation of the CCP Central Committee, and the State Council of the People's Republic of China. The high-ranking Romanian guests visited economic and socio-cultural units in Beijing and Shenyang, and were warmly received everywhere, as an expression of sentiments of friendship and esteem mutually nurtured by the two peoples.

In Shenyang, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Elena Ceausescu met with workers, technicians, engineers and management cadres in the machine-building industry. A big rally of Romanian-Chinese friendship was organized there in honor of our party-state leadership. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Hu Yaobang took the floor at this rally, which became a powerful manifestation of the high regard for the Romanian guests and of the determination of the two peoples to continuously strengthen solidarity and cooperation to their mutual benefit and in the interest of international peace and cooperation.

Nicolae Ceausescu met and had official talks with Hu Yaobang, chairman of the Central Committee of the CCP, and with Zhano Ziyang, vice chairman of the CCP Central Committee, premier of the State Council of the PRC. Likewise, Nicolae Ceausescu met and had friendly talks with Deng Xiaoping, vice chairman of the Central Committee of the CCP and other revolutionary veterans.

During the talks, which passed in a cordial atmosphere, of friendship, mutual esteem and understanding, information was exchanged on the two parties' and peoples' activity in socialist construction, thorough analysis was made of the stage and ways of further development of the Romanian-Chinese bilateral relations and views were exchanged on the current issues of the international situation and of the communist and working-class movement.

Both parties highlighted withgreat satisfaction that the relations of friendship, collaboration and solidarity between the RCP and the CCP between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the PRC, between the peoples of the two countries, have rich and fine traditions and develop successfully upon the bases established on the occasion of the meetings of President Nicolae Ceausescu with Chairman Mao Zedong and Premier Zhou Enlai, in the spirit of mutual esteem, observance of the principles of national independence and sovereignty, equality of rights, non-immixture in internal affairs, mutual advantage and comradely reciprocal assistance.

Emphasis was placed on the decisive role of the summit meetings and talks for the development of the links between the two parties, for the expansion and deepening of the Romanian-Chinese collaboration in all domains of mutual interest.

Both sides stressed the importance of continuously promoting political contacts and dialogue as well as cooperation between the governments, parliaments and mass and public organizations of the two countries.

Highly assessed were the results scored in recent years in the carrying through of the decisions and understandings reached by the party and state leaderships of the two countries regarding the expansion of the economic and technico-scientific collaboration in diversified forms, the development of the commercial exchanges, the achievement, by concerted efforts, ofindustrial objectives of mutual interests.

Highlighted in that context were the efforts of the two countries' governments, the fruitful activity of the joint government commission on economic collaboration, of the ministries and the other relevant institutions in Romania and China.

At the same time, the determination of the two parties and states was stressed, to work for the sustained development, upon stable and lasting relations, of the mutually advantageous economic relations. The economic, scientific and technical potential of the two countries, the experience amassed in recent years were considered to have created new opportunities for the expansion of the cooperation in production and research in such somains of importance to the development of the national economies, as the capitalization of the energy and raw materials resources, the production of complex installations, equipment and machinery for the chemical, metallurgical, energy, building materials industries, transport, agriculture and food industry, machine-building and electrical engineering and electronics, etc. In this respect, a long-term programmatic agreement on basic directions of developing economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the PRC was signed during the visit; both sides assessed that the signing of this agreement is of historic significance for strengthening friendship and promoting cooperation between Romania and China.

A protocol on cooperation and collaboration in machine building was also signed.

It was also decided that the governments of the two countries, the Joint Commission for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation and the planning and foreign trade bodies should act to continuously increase mutual deliveries of goods on a stable and balanced basis.

During the visit, a meeting took place between Elena Ceausescu and a group of Chinese scientists, which occasioned a survey of the problems of development of the technico-scientific collaboration and of the cooperation in research, in keeping with the demands of the national economies and with the development of the economic collaboration between the two countries. In this respect, an agreement was signed between the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the PRC Government on cooperation in peaceful utilization of nuclear energy, and the protocol of the 22nd session of the Joint Romanian-Chinese Commission for Scientific-Technical Cooperation.

Both parties expressed the confidence that the intensification of the relations of economic and technico-scientific collaboration between Romania and the PRC makes an important contribution to the carrying through of the plans of socio-economic development and of advance of the two countries on the path of socialism.

The parties noted with satisfaction that important results were marked in the expansion of the bilateral links and collaboration in culture, education, sciences, mass media, health, sports and other domains. In order to further promote this cooperation, the sides signed a program on implementing the cultural cooperation agreement for the 1982-85 period, And a protocol on cooperation in health care until 1985. Both sides assessed that the continuous development of the Romanian-Chinese cooperation in these fields and a better mutual knowledge of achievements in socialist construction and of intellectual values of the two peoples are very important for deepening friendship between Romania and China.

The party and state leaders of the two countries reitarated the determination of the RCP and CCP, of the Socialist Republic of Romania and PRC to ever more strongly develop the Romanian-Chinese relations and friendly collaboration, convinced that this serves the lasting interests of the Romanian and Chinese peoples, equally making an important contribution to the affirmation of the democratic principles in international life, to the promotion of a policy of international peace, understanding and collaboration, of the cause of socialism and progress in the world.

During the exchange of views on current international issues, they noted with deep worry the serious deterioration of the situation and the mounting war danger resulting from the imperialist policy of strength and domination, of consolidation and redivision of the zones of influence, of violation of other states's independence and immixture in their internal affairs, from the multiplication of the conflicts and hotbeds of crisis, the unprecedented intensification of the arms race, especially the nuclear arms race, from the deepening of the economic crisis and of the gaps between the developing countries and the developed countries.

They unanimously considered that the peoples struggle should be intensified for halting the international tension, for defending the independence and sovereignty, increasing the struggle of the anti-imperialist,revolutionary, progressive and democratic forces against the policy of aggression, domination and dictate, of intervention and interference in the affairs of other states, for the observance of each people's right to decide upon its own fate, to choose the path of its economic and social development in tune with its aspirations after freedom and progress.

The fact was stressed that in view of halting the international tension and achieving a policy of understanding and collaboration among peoples, all manifestations of the policy of force, pressure and dictate, must be eliminated. There must be observed strictly, in the interstate relations, the democratic norms of the international law, the principles of the national independence and sovereignty, territorial integrity, equality of rights, noninterference in the domestic affairs of others, renunciation of force and the mutual advantage.

Under the present circumstances, when the most stringent problem is to safeguard peace, to do away with the danger of a nuclear war, there is a need for an immediate halting of the arms race and a passage to disarmament, to nuclear disarmament first of all, starting with the powerfully armed countries, a banning of the nuclear weapons, a reduction and destruction of the existing stockpiles of such weapons, a reduction of the military budgets, of the armed forces and armaments, a withdrawal of all foreign troops and a dismantlement of the military bases from the territories of other states.

Highly important is the calling of the second special session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament, that is expected to bring about the endorsement of the global programme for disarmament, as also concrete disarmament measures, nuclear disarmament first of all.

The Romanian side informed of the activity carried out by Romania for reducing the tension existing in Europe at present, for a renunciation of further emplacing medium-range missiles on the continent, for the withdrawal and destruction of the existing ones, for ensuring the conclusion of the Madrid conference in positive, substantive results, the resumption of the course towards detente and collaboration initiated by the Helsinki Conference, for the development of collaboration in the Balkans and for turning this zone into a zone free from nuclear weapons, part and parcel of the security and cooperation in Europe. The Chinese side expressed understanding for and support to the preoccupation of Romania and the other European peoples to ensure peace and security, to safeguard their independence and very existence.

President Nicolae Ceausescu reasserted Romania's firm support of the People's China position by which the Taiwan issue is a domestic issue that has to be solved by the Chinese people, with no interference from outside.

Both sides expressed the conviction that all interstate litigious problems should be solved exclusively by means of peaceful negotiations, with the participation of interested countries, setting out from the observance of independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, of each people's right to develop freely, with no interference from outside.

The exchange of opinions on the problems of the communist and working class movement brought to the fore the need for the relations among the communist and workers' parties to be grounded on fully equal rights, observance of each party's independence and of its right to work out self-dependently its political line, its revolutionary ways and means, to choose the path of the revolutionary transformation of society, according to the conditions in its own country. Taking into account the different conditions in which various parties operate, it is only natural that on certain complex problems of the international life opinions should differ, yet the essential point is to strengthen the collaboration setting out from equality and mutual respect to the end of asserting the policy of peace, respect for independence, international detente and collaboration.

The Romanian and Chinese heads of party and state expressed full satisfaction at the talks conducted and at the results of the visit paid by President Nicolae Ceausescu to the People's China, at the agreements reached, considering them to be a new telling manifestation of the Romanian-Chinese fraternal friendship and solidarity. The sides expressed the conviction that this Romanian-Chinese summit would give a fresh impetus and would open wide prospects to the expansion and diversification of the multilateral collaboration between the two parties and countries, to their cooperation in the international life, to the interest of the Romanian and Chinese peoples, of the cause of socialism, peace, security and international collaboration.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, warmly thanked the Chinese leaders for the warm reception and fraternal hospitality extended to him during the visit.

President Nicolae Ceausescu addressed Hu Yaobang, chairman of the Central Committee of the CCP, the invitation to visit Romania. The invitation was accepted with pleasure.

CEAUSESCU, RCP DELEGATION CONCLUDE DPRK VISIT

Agreements Signed

AU210847 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1815 GMT 20 Apr 82

["Romanian-Korean Working Meetings" -- AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Pyongyang, 20 Apr (AGERPRES) -- In keeping with those set during the talks between Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Kim Il-song, Romanian-Korean working meetings took place in Pyongyang, when practical ways of action and means were examined and established for the translation into fact of the understandings covenanted at high level.

Ion Dinca, member of the Political Executive Committee of the CC of the RCP, first deputy prime minister, met Kong Chin-tae, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Workers' Party of Korea, vice-premier of the Administration Council and chairman of the Foreign Trade Commission.

Stefan Andrei, alternate member of the Political Executive Committee of the CC of the RCP, minister of foreign affairs, had working talks with Ho Tam, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the WPK, minister of foreign affairs.

Ion Ursu, alternate member of the Political Executive Committee of the CC of the RCP, first vice-chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology, had interviews with Chong Chun-ki, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the WPK, vice-premier, president of the Academy of Sciences.

Ioan Avram, minister of machine-building industry, met Choe Chae-u, vice-premier and chairman of the Machine-Building Industry Commission.

Meetings also took place between representatives of the Ministry of Technical-Material Supply and Fixed Assets Management Control and the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation of Romania, and executives of the Ministry of Foreign Trade, the Ministry of External Economic Affairs and other economic ministries of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Important documents were also signed: agreement on cooperation in the capitalization of non-ferrous metal deposits and agreement on cooperation in the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes between the governments of Romania and the DPR of Korea signed by Ion Dinca, first deputy prime minister, and Kong Chin-Tae, vice-premier of the administration council; programme for the application of the cultural collaboration agreement, agreement on collaboration in the field of social insurance, and the plan of collaboration in health protection and medical sciences over 1982-1983.

Depart DPRK

AU210825 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0800 GMT 21 Apr 82

[Text] The official friendly visit paid by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, together with Comrade Elena Ceausescu, to the DPRK at the invitation of Comrade Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Korea and president of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, ended today.

During their visit, the high-ranking representatives of the Romanian people were welcomed with feelings of warm friendship, special esteem and regard, telling proof of Romanian-Korean relations of friendship. The talks at the summit level and each instant of the program during the visit added new fruitful and conclusive elements to the chronicle of relations established between our peoples and countries, and outlined the opportunities for increasing the degree of cooperation at various levels between the two parties, countries and peoples in keeping with the aspirations for peace of the Romanian and Korean peoples and of all world countries.

Upon departure, the high-ranking representatives of the Romanian people were seen off by Comrade Kim Il-song and by Comrade Kim Song-ae and by other Korean officials.

DPRK Coverage of Visit

For KCNA coverage of President Nicolae Ceausescu's visit to the DPRK, including the text of his 18 April banquet speech and the text of the joint statement on the visit issued 20 April, see the Asia & Pacific DAILY REPORT for 20 April and subsequent issues.

DPRK EMBASSY CELEBRATES ARMY ANNIVERSARY

AU201930 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1800 GMT 20 Apr 82

[Text] Bucharest, 20 Apr (AGERPRES) -- Marking the 50th foundation anniversary of the Korean People's Army, a press conference was held at the Embassy of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in Bucharest on April 20.

(Kim Chung-hian), military air and naval attache of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in Bucharest, spoke about the significance of the event, about the efforts the Korean people has made for attaining its most ardent aspiration after the peaceful, free and independent reunification of the country. The speaker thanked the RCP, the Romanian Government and people for the support they have granted to the Korean people's just cause, also pointing to the steady development of the friendly and cooperative relations between the two parties, countries and peoples.

SCINTEIA ON KIM IL-SONG'S 70TH BIRTHDAY

AU151232 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0930 GMT 15 Apr 82

[Text] Bucharest, 15 Apr (AGERPRES) -- SCINTEIA of April 15 runs an extensive article marking President Kim Il-song's birthday, showing among other things: The working people in Romania, the entire Romanian people are wholeheartedly at the side of the friendly Korean people that celebrates today an outstanding event: the 70th birthday of Kim Il-song, general secretary of the CC of the Workers' Party of Korea, president of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. This is a moment of deep joy in the life of the peoples in the two friendly countries, of the forces of progress and peace in the world.

After enlarging upon President Kim Il-song's revolutionary biography, his prodigious activity in the service of the Korean people's progress and prosperity, of the ideal of the reunification of its fatherland, SCINTEIA writes: Owing to the revolutionary activity it has carried on under the clairvoyant leadership of President Kim Il-song, the workers' party is loved and esteemed by the entire Korean people. It has gained a well-deserved prestige in the international communist and working class movement owing to its contribution to the promotion of the new-type principles guiding the relations among communist and workers' parties -- equality of rights, non-interference in domestic affairs, each party's right to self-reliantly elaborate its home and foreign policy -- prerequisites for the strengthening of the militant solidarity and unity of all the revolutionary, democratic and anti-imperialist forces.

At the same time, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea works for the democratization of interstate relations, for the strengthening of the non-aligned movement, for broad cooperation among all the nations of the world.

Sharing, with deep satisfaction, in the Korean people's joy at the celebration of President Kim Il-song's birthday the Romanian communists, the Romanian people are highly appreciative of the relations of close friendship and militant solidarity between the two peoples, parties and countries. In the years of socialism, these relations, which are deeply rooted in the two peoples' fighting past for progress and welfare, have witnessed steady development on the political, economic, technical-scientific and cultural planes, in all fields of activity, which is to the mutual satisfaction of the two peoples, in the interests of the building of the new system in the two countries, of the cause of independence and progress in the world, of the assertion of the peoples' sacred right to shape their own destinies.

In full concordance with her militant solidarity with the just cause of the Korean people, socialist Romania has always supported firmly the constructive initiatives and proposals advanced by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea regarding the country's reunification by the Koreans themselves, without any outside immixture and in keeping with the entire Korean nation's ardent aspirations.

The productive course of the mutual relations is indissolubly linked to the decisive role played by the meetings between Nicolae Ceausescu and Kim Il-song that have turned into a systematic practice with most opportune results. The frequent talks conducted between the two party and state leaders in Bucharest and Pyongyang along the years laid a solid groundwork and provided an extensive framework for the process of raising the Romanian-Korean brotherly cooperation onto higher stages. Life has validated the great principled and practical importance of the provisions of the treaty of friendship and collaboration between Romania and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, signed in Bucharest by the two leaders, to which the joint declaration of Pyongyang was added which consolidated the cooperation between the two parties and countries opening further bright prospects.

The Romanian people harbour the conviction that the new talks to be conducted between Nicolae Ceausescu and Kim Il-song in the days to come will lead to the more powerful expansion of the Romanian-Korean relations.

MEXICAN PRESIDENT, MINISTERS CONFER WITH BURTICA

AU211032 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0945 GMT 21 Apr 82

[Text] Ciudad de Mexico, 21 Apr (AGERPRES) -- The president of the United Mexican States, Jose Lopez Portillo, received Romanian Deputy Prime Minister Cornel Burtica, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, now on a Mexican visit. The sides evoked with satisfaction the positive evolution of the Romanian-Mexican relations of friendship and collaboration. They expressed the need for a dynamization and amplification of the bilateral relations on a mutually advantageous basis, particularly in the fields of trade exchanges and cooperation in production, in tune with the potential of the two countries' economies and with their programmes of economic and social development. The sides also tackled certain aspects of the present international political situation, aspects of interest for both countries.

Cornel Burtica conducted talks with Jose Castaneda, secretary for foreign affairs; Jorge de la Vega Dominguez, secretary for commerce; Jose Andres de Oteyza, secretary for national property and industrial development; Francisco Merino Rabago, secretary for agricultural and water resources, as well as with leaders of central Mexican economic and financial institutions.

During the talks there were tackled aspects of the relations between the two countries, the present stage and the perspectives of their development.

AGREEMENTS DISCUSSED WITH AUSTRIAN OFFICIALS

AU201906 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1815 GMT 20 Apr 82

[Text] Bucharest, 20 Apr (AGERPRES) -- The 6th session of the Joint Romanian-Austrian Governmental Commission of Economic Collaboration and Industrial and Technical Cooperation started in Bucharest on April 20.

In the spirit of the decisions reached during the interviews between the presidents of the two countries, the session analyzes the stage of the implementation of the programme of cooperation established during the previous session held in Vienna, as well as the ways of further developing the relations of cooperation between the two countries and on third markets, in the domains of metallurgy, machine building, chemistry and others.

The two delegations are led by Gheorghe Petrescu, minister of machine-tools, electrotechnology and electronics, and by Dr Josef Staribacher, federal minister of trade, commerce and industry, respectively.

BRIEFS

COOPERATION PLAN WITH CSSR -- A plan on scientific-technical cooperation in the area of quality control and metrology was signed for 1982 between the Romanian State Inspectorate for Quality Control and the CSSR Standards and Measures office. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 11 Apr p 5 AU]

TRADE AGREEMENT WITH MALI -- Bucharest, 17 Apr (AGERPRES) -- The instruments of ratification of the long-term commercial agreement between the Government of Romania and the Government of the Republic of Mali were exchanged in Bucharest on April 17. The exchange was made by Constantin Oancea, deputy minister of foreign affairs, and by Moussa Coulibaly, ambassador of the Republic of Mali to Romania. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0940 GMT 17 Apr 82 AU]

USSR PREMIER TIKHONOV RECEIVES LJUBICIC

LD202000 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1829 GMT 20 Apr 82

[Text] Moscow, 20 Apr (TANJUG) -- Soviet Premier Nikolay Tikhonov received here today Yugoslavia's federal secretary for national defense, Gen. of the Army Nikola Ljubicic, who arrived yesterday at the head of a Yugoslav People's Army delegation on an official and friendly visit to the Soviet Union and the Soviet Armed Forces.

The development of Yugoslav-Soviet relations and cooperation in all fields were positively evaluated during their talks. Opinions on some aspects of the international situation were interchanged. In this connection, emphasis was laid on the role of tension-easing in the world and attention was drawn to their efforts to stop the arms race. Being a socialist nonaligned country, Yugoslavia develops equal and good relations with all states in the interest of peace and international cooperation, it was stressed on the Yugoslav side.

Also today, Gen Ljubicic met with Leonid Smirnov, the Soviet vice-premier.

LCY CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM HELD 20 APR

Mojsov Keynote Speech

LD201700 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0701 GMT 20 Apr 82

["Lazar Mojsov's Introductory Report at the LCY Central Committee Session" -- TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Apr (TANJUG) -- The preparations for this session of the LCY Central Committee, at which we should discuss topical ideopolitical questions, have been going on for some time. As early as the beginning of 1981 the LCY Central Committee Presidium set up a working group which, in order to look into this problem, visited some of our republics and provinces and held about 50 talks in League of Communists basic organizations and committees and in some sociopolitical and scientific worker aktivs. These talks, as well as many activities carried out last year throughout the LCY, many discussions and meetings and meetings with political and theory workers as well as a number of seminars, symposiums and tribunes, have shaken up an entire front of LCY ideopolitical activity. They have contributed to the formulation and identification of the main ideological manifestations and ideopolitical problems now confronting the League of Communists.

In the meantime, during the past year, the League of Communists as a whole, and our Central Committee too, responding to the urgent tasks which we are facing, discussed many questions of the implementation of the policy of economic stabilization. In connection with counterrevolutionary actions in Kosovo we discussed the underlying reasons for this new welling-up of nationalism and irredentism and the disturbance of intranational relations. These problems are profoundly tied up with the ideological situation in the LCY and the role which all League of Communists organizations should play in the solution of all major political tasks in our country. In these discussions too, which referred to the concrete problems and tasks which we all inevitably face, we considered and clarified many ideological problems. In so doing we also made a contribution to the consolidation of LCY ideopolitical activity.

Now, during this discussion, and in the discussions which will follow in the fairly long period of time ahead of us, we must see in their true light some basic problems of the further development of our socialist self-management society. In so doing we must further contribute to the ideopolitical education of the League of Communists. This is a complex and long-term task, and a long-term program of ideopolitical action has to be worked out. Neither this discussion of ours nor those which will follow can or will provide an answer to all the questions.

The complex nature of the time in which we live, the concentration of a number of problems of our development and the complex conditions in the world in which we live call for a thorough and constant discussion on ideopolitical activity of the League of Communists. The time in which we live and in which we are developing League of Communists activity is very complex. International events are imbued with deep-seated contradictions and conflicts in interstate and international economic relations with inherent antagonisms between the basic factors of the modern world. The whole world is encompassed by deep economic and social crises. International relations are passing through one of the most dangerous phases since World War II.

At the same time, the world today is also characterized by the constant exacerbation of relations between the great powers and their blocs. This has reached a high level of concentration in virtually all the areas. International relations are being marked by the armaments race and the policy of sabre-rattling (the weapons being constantly improved and enhanced to all-destroying proportions), economic encapsulation and the application of military, political and economic pressure, the ideological rivalry which recalls the more serious deformations from the time of the cold war, the fermenting of a number of focal points of crisis and local conflicts which even lead to wars. The negative tendencies are beginning to be reflected also on the internal situation -- conflicts and contradictions in many countries and within individual groupings and blocs.

In these conditions the struggle for emancipation, independence and free development of all the countries and peoples, for social and economic progress for equal relations, for a more equitable position in the international division of labor and for a change within the entire present structure of international economic relations is not only not abating but, on the contrary, is reasserting itself as one of the basic characteristics of the present era. Liberation and socialist forces are irresistibly insisting on further emancipation and on independent decisions being taken on the methods of their struggle for liberation, independence and socialism.

There are no longer any islands of peace in this world, deeply divided by various contradictions. We are all lapped by the waves of these great decisive contradictions. They are inevitably expressed not only through real conflicts and confrontations, but also in social awareness and in the ideopolitical sphere. All these contradictions and ferment could not bypass our country, which is in a new stage of its socialist development. We are under the impact of all these negative foreign influences and trends, particularly in international economic relations, precisely at a time when a series of complex processes and tendencies are developing in our country. The processes and tendencies mark the present phase of our struggle for the further development of socialist self-management, when further social transformations have to be carried out.

Between the 11th and 12th LCY Congresses, the League of Communists waged a number of very important ideopolitical battles. In teeming domestic economic difficulties and in the simmering international situation, it initiated a policy of economic and political stabilization. This has been efficient from the point of view of further balancing economic development, and consistent from the point of view of the historic orientation of the working class for socialist self-management. In the situation without Tito it gives purpose to and guides all those actions, development ventures and political moves which strengthen our efforts along Tito's line. In so doing, it promotes our independence, sovereignty and integrity. At the time of the counterrevolutionary onslaught, it placed itself at the head of all our working people, nations and nationalities and put itself on the rampart of the achievements of our revolution. It has worked out an entire program of long-term and fundamental ideopolitical, economic and political transformation. By implementing this program we must remove all the reasons for which nationalistic conflicts can emerge. It unmasks with ever greater resolve and overcomes in an open confrontation all those ideological orientations running counter to the League of Communists which are now heard on the domestic and international scene.

In all these battles the League of Communists has again obtained strong support from our working class and working people and all our nations and nationalities. This is reflected, primarily, in the results which are attained in the economy, in the massive response and activities of our citizens in the elections for the delegate assemblies, and in the powerful growth of the League of Communists membership. It is also reflected particularly in the massive influx of young people into party ranks, and in the resolve of every person to defend the achievements and the gains of socialist construction, unity, freedom and independence which we have won with such difficulty.

It has been shown that our society and League of Communists policy have a stable orientation. Our society is capable of developing further in the direction of its fundamental revolutionary orientation. In this historic moment too the League of Communists is strengthening its ability to open up boldly new prospects, to analyze its work critically and overcome the difficulties and the delays in its development.

The League of Communists of Yugoslavia in the Ideological and Political Struggle Today

The essential meaning of all our activities today is resolutely to eliminate the present difficulties in our development. We must do so through the unswerving and consistent development of essential achievements of our revolution into which the creative effort of Josip Broz Tito and Edvard Kardelj have been organically incorporated. Both today and in all future times this creative effort will be an inexhaustible source of fresh inspiration for all the communists and working people of Yugoslavia.

The tasks of the LCY in its ideological and political struggle today is one of the central questions of all our present discussions and activities. This question is gaining in importance because of the need to sharpen our awareness and our understanding concerning these tasks and because of our commitment to unite even more firmly the League of Communists and all socialist forces of our society in their implementation. The clarity of our views on these tasks and the unity of our action is one of the most important conditions to clarify the main ideological problems of our society at this moment.

In the discussions on any topical issue and in virtually all our activity, it is becoming clearer how the League of Communists must channel its efforts and strength in the present phase of our socialist self-management development. This phase is marked by different contradictions about which a great deal has been said in our discussions. On this occasion we will dwell on one of them.

The present development has radically changed the image of our country, its production forces and its people as well. It has made our nations and nationalities genuine subjects of the creation of a multinational community in which equality, brotherhood and unity are not a political slogan but an increasingly rich reality and a genuine part of their essence. It has emancipated the social initiative of the working man. In so doing it has strengthened his conviction that he is responsible for the development of his socialist self-management community and for his country's independence and nonaligned policy.

Carrying forward this development has been the enormous energy and creative spirit of our working people, socialist self-management, a determination to move things forward, and the guiding ideological and political action of the communists. The contribution which all sociopolitical organizations are making to the unity and organization of all progressive efforts has always been irreplaceable. The socialist state has played and continues to play an important role in this development. The communists in its organs should continue to make an untiring effort to strengthen the material, political and ideological conditions of socialist self-management.

However, this development, which yielded significant fruit and has broad support, has within itself an inevitable conflict which became aggravated as time went on. What happened was that state intervention in the economy gradually assumed greater proportions.

State-political organs and banking institutions gained the upper hand in guiding extended reproduction. This strengthened bureaucratic-etatist and technocratic tendencies, coupled with other negative manifestations which were extensively analyzed in the League of Communists and its Central Committee.

Many contradictions which left to themselves could entail even greater difficulties in economic and social life have become exacerbated. Here we single out the fact that these tendencies hamper the efforts for an adequate value to be put on productive and creative work, and for remuneration according to results of labor. This affects the motivation of workers in the struggle for socialist self-management and greater productivity, and weakens their social commitment. Attention must be drawn also to growing signs of pragmatism creeping into our political work and life. These trends which play into the hands of etatist-bureaucratic and technocratic forces. We are also encountering signs of a loss of revolutionary drive, of a kind of fatigue in the social struggle, and a passivity among some League of Communist members.

However, once the energy of the workers, farmers, intellectuals, women and young people of our country has been truly released and developed, it becomes indestructible. It is developing unceasingly in our socialist self-management system and is a powerful confirmation of their vitality. Even in the present unfavorable conditions, many collectives and environments display a drive with which they overcome their difficulties and attain exceptionally positive results. The forces of the working people are resolutely channelled into overcoming the present restrictions of socialist self-management. More than that, they should be leaders in efforts to attain the further stage of development. In this stage associated workers must implement their social power and role as builders of the revolution in social work and production relations.

The actions and the discussions during precongress preparations have confirmed that the further development of the LCY role is acquiring broad support. The role and the importance of League of Communists basic organizations and of general party discussions in formulating the stands and the policy is being emphasized. So too is the role of League of Communists central and provincial committees and of other plenary bodies of the leadership in relation to executive-political organs. Within the context of these efforts, all the conditions for efficient, concrete and responsible work of all sociopolitical organizations and creative forces of our society must continue to be built. This refers, above all, to the Socialist Alliance, the Confederation of Trade Unions, the League of Socialist Youth, and the veterans' associations. It also refers to the entire activity on the ideological front, and to our educational, scientific and theoretical workers. We must persistently combat the remnants of the concept that sociopolitical organizations are a transmission belt of the League of Communists. "These organizations are, as Kardelj says, independent, democratic structures of the working class and working masses, in which the League of Communists participates and cooperates as a component and as an expression of the specific ideological and political interests of the working class and working masses."

The struggle for the development of self-management also implies the long-term process of the state withering away as a means of coercion. Communists and working people have never harbored the illusion that the role of the state and of state coercion is some kind of a secondary element of the political system of socialist self-management. They have considered this role as an essential condition of the development of socialist self-managing society. This role is ensured by our political system.

One of the tasks at the present juncture is for the League of Communists to formulate even more precisely its obligations toward the working class and all socialist creative forces of society, of which it is a component. It should also fulfill even better its obligations toward the organs of the socialist state. In this way it will improve our grasp of certain differences in these obligations.

It will also help the League of Communists make changes so that the constitutionally defined relations between socialist creative forces of society and state bodies, as well as between delegate assemblies and their politicoexecutive organs, may continue to develop. In this context, two groups of problems should be stressed. First, we should stress the need to ensure the political initiatives of state organs, in particular of executive organs, and develop their responsibilities within the framework of their constitutional jurisdictions. Second, we should stress the demand that the executive organs and organs of administration continue to open up in a democratic way toward the entire social structure and all social creative forces. They must do this in order to ensure their continuous mutual cooperation and consultation, as well as the necessary broad democratic control of society of the work of these organs. This struggle is one of the fundamental conditions to combat the danger of the bureaucratization of the political system.

The continuous and decisive consolidation of the ideopolitical unity of the LCY is the foundation of the indestructible alliance of the working class, of all our working people. It is also the guarantee of full equality, brotherhood and unity of our nations and nationalities. Criticisms and debates in the League of Communists should be waged freely. They should be accompanied by an open presentation of views during which different ideas, new facts and the strength of arguments should be taken into consideration from principled positions and without labelling.

The League of Communists as a mobile sociopolitical force enters all social struggles and all vital situations. In the various stages of the struggle, its ranks are joined by people with different ideas and sometimes even by those who, as time passes, are shown not to agree with its policy and to operate from opposite positions. The League of Communists must part company with such individuals decisively and clearly in day-by-day confrontation while fulfilling all tasks. Differentiation from attitudes that are ideologically and politically alien should not be made verbally and in the manner of a campaign but in concrete terms and in day-by-day practice.

Social Criticism, Science and Marxist Theory

Our social criticism, science and Marxist theory are developing in conditions in which the revolutionary process is gradually moving to the sphere of work and production through the struggle for the association of labor on the basis of self-management and for the development of the delegate system. As the entire social organization begins to evolve directly from work as the foundation of society, it is necessary for these activities, too, to take deeper roots in work, in relations, in conflicts and in the social consciousness emerging in society. It is, therefore, necessary to create conditions in which science, theory and practice will become equally involved, permeated and encouraged. A pragmatic attitude toward scientific theoretical work is not yielding the right results; it creates antipathy and academicism or positivist-normativist thought with shades of apologetics.

The most important task at present is to get down to the persistent building of true internal preconditions, both "on the side" of practice and "on the side" of science and theory in order that their mutual engagement will be truly motivated by the needs of their own development. This should help us to grasp more clearly how much we still idealize this practice and what kind of obstacles and forms of resistance operate in it. It also shows what in the social identity of science and theory, in their entire development so far, resists responsibilities, uncertainties and risks which the scientific-theoretical work must take on if it wishes to go more deeply, with all its strength, into the problems of the struggle for a new society and participate responsibly in this struggle. Much more serious and organized efforts, both practical-political and scientific-theoretical, must be made in order that we might approach the state in which socialist practice "turns toward science consciously and in an organized manner" (Tito at the 11th LCY Congress) and in which Marxist science and theory participate significantly in the revolutionary practice.

There is yet another factor which should really become part of social criticism and scientific and theoretical thought if we want them to be Marxist and adapted to our socialist self-managing society. This is the criticism and consciousness of the working man who day-by-day and directly wages the struggle for self-management in very complex and contradictory conditions. This aspect of criticism and of social consciousness is not taken into account enough either in our sociotheoretical thought or in the League of Communists or other sociopolitical organizations. And yet, the continuous confrontation of this consciousness, resulting from immediate living and production circumstances, along with scientific-theoretical thinking and with the revolutionary experience and theoretical knowledge of the LCY, parallel with mutual correctness, alone leads to more comprehensive knowledge.

It is most essential that the LCY, with its activity on the entire social consciousness, with its struggle against pragmatism and practicism, creates the climate for developing responsible and well-thought out critical thought and activity. In this way conditions will be created for communists and other progressive scientific workers to develop criticism that will, both by theoretical and scientific analysis and arguments, identify more clearly individual ideopolitical stands and their ideological and practical-political meaning.

The Development of International Relations on the Foundations of Socialist Self-Management and the Struggle Against Nationalism.

Our policy of national equality, brotherhood and unity has led to such social transformations and achievements, to such ideological and political consciousness without which today's social and national freedoms of the working people would not have come about and without which our unified multinational community would not exist. These achievements have acquired, with the development of self-management, a radically new social strength and perspective. It is on the historically founded conception of the LCY about intranational relations and on its practically tested vitality and progressiveness that the superiority of the views and of the social strength of the strategic orientations of the LCY is founded.

All self-manageing subjects, all nations and nationalities and their sociopolitical communities are encompassed by the unified developing and transformation process, which has two indivisible aspects: being independent and associating and linking up. The practice shows that these tendencies are not implemented either evenly, in a straight line, or harmoniously. They are even accompanied by their own extremes. For, in recent years, autarchic and disintegrating tendencies in our country have been gaining strength more quickly than self-managing pooling and democratic social integration, although the latter are demanded by the deepest interests of every nation and nationality. The LCY and our Central Committee have on several occasions and for various reasons dealt with the causes and with the ways of overcoming this negative tendency in our society. These analyses will be incorporated into unified assessments and joint actions at the congresses that are soon to take place. Here I would only stress that the potentials and advantages inherent in the self-managing system as regards the pooling of labor and resources on the basis of self-management have not been implemented to the degree necessary. The development of self-management has been restricted in many spheres of life to the advantage of bureaucratic, one-sided and local interests. In many environments and spheres, the workers' control over income has stagnated.

In these conditions there grew in our society and among League of Communists members diverse and one-sided interpretations based on narrow and transient interests and also anti-self-management criticism of our system itself. For example, these are concepts about national interests, national equality, national sovereignty, national economies and about the totality of intranational relations which are not based on self-management relations and which do not proceed from the working class as a protagonist of genuine national interest. These concepts pull national problems out of and separate them from the position, interest and the role of the working class in our society.

They pull them out of the totality of the social system and from (?the entire) organization of our society. One of the consequences of this approach is the inconsistent separation of national interests from various nationalisms. In this kind of approach the causes of nationalism are not uncovered and are not pruned in their own environment.

To do it the League of Communists must conduct an ideological struggle which will lead to clear and consistent differentiation with all one-sided theses, blanket assessments, voluntarist clouding of actual problems, deliberate confusion of what is of primary and secondary importance, and with the propagation of spurious dilemmas. One objective of these differentiations is that many normal differences and lawful contradictions in our development, which would have existed even if we were not a multinational community, do not acquire a form of national contradictions and nationalistic interpretation.

In this struggle the League of Communists must be persistent and determined. In a democratic society, where various interests are continually on the social scene, different approaches to our orientations and reality are not, and will not be, transient phenomena.

One of the essential parts of the ideological action of the League of Communists must be channelled into the struggle against nationalism. Nationalisms of all complexions must be constantly the target of all socialist forces. In recent years nationalism has been suited by tendencies of establishing several separate and closed markets in Yugoslavia and many autarchic tendencies and delays in the self-management integration of labor. (?They were not) resisted even by League of Communists members in some environments and areas. The most dangerous source and the main protagonists of nationalistic manifestations are to be found in the remnants of etatist relations and forces in every environment and at every level of organization of our society. It is here that communists must uncover and overcome them first and foremost. Besides, all experience shows that all kinds of enemies of our socialist self-management, ranging from bourgeois remnants to conservatives and oppositionists engendered by the present time, align themselves under nationalistic banners and form temporary alliances. All experience shows that as opposed to socialism, which means a democratic integration of labor, nationalism means encapsulation, counterrevolution and a step backward. And precisely because it is an antipode of socialism, nationalism is becoming the main instrument in the struggle against internal stability and the international position of the SFRY. The counterrevolutionary actions in Kosovo demonstrated in a drastic way not only to what extent nationalism can run counter to the deepest interests of the Albanian nationality, but also to what an extent it can be a weapon in the struggle against our country and its social system.

In a word, all kinds of nationalisms are the main political and ideological enemy of the working people and of self-management society. This is why the constant struggle to preserve national identity and to assert every nation and nationality must be clearly and consistently separated from the abuse of national interests and national sentiments and nationalistic romanticism of all kinds. These range from the creation of nationalist myths to an attempt to preserve actual, or establish new, monopolies under the slogan of national interests. Members of all nations and nationalities, and the entire LCY, must stand up as one man against any manifestations of endangering the security and national rights of the citizens in any area of our country as guaranteed by our constitution.

Therefore the LCY must be fully committed to the mobilization of all socialist forces in an uncompromising, direct, open and public struggle against all kinds and forms of nationalistic behavior, action and ideologies. In this respect we face special commitments in all spheres of cultural, educational and scientific life, particulary in educating young people.

The most important experience of the LCY gained in the battles against nationalism should be stressed especially today, too. The LCY came out of them as a victor especially because it resolved social contradictions consistently and in good time, because it offered its programs of action and because it provided solutions for outstanding social problems. This is the best way of cutting off the roots of nationalism. A comprehensive struggle to implement constitutional orientations, to develop all levels and all institutions of the political system of socialist self-management and the mobilization of all progressive forces narrow the scope of, and are the strongest obstacle to, all antisocialist and especially nationalistic forces.

Attempts and Tendencies of Ideological and Political Destruction of the Fundamental Values of the Revolution

At this moment the League of Communists must pay special attention to those characteristic ideological undercurrents which, either directly or indirectly, oppose the strategy and the program of the League of Communists. These activities have been revived, especially in recent years, and particularly at a time of economic difficulties and a deterioration of the international situation. Despite all efforts to be heard, their influence and strength in our society are very limited.

An attempt was made in the material distributed among Central Committee members to characterize more closely these main undercurrents and tendencies and their meaning at this point. What has been provided in the material is neither an exhaustive analysis nor a study of these issues. The intention was to inspire such an analysis and to encourage discussion at the Central Committee session.

Ultraradical criticism does not have a mass basis but is trying to be heard to an appreciable degree through a negating critique of our entire social situation. "The criticism" by the ultraradicals proceeds from the claim that Yugoslav socialism has degenerated into bureaucratism and that the party, the League of Communists, has been and remains dogmatic and Stalinist. Self-management is not rejected by what is being said, but in reality it is ignored and undermined. Some protagonists of these views are close to the basic theses of anarchism. They deny the need or organization and institutions of the working class, display a negative attitude toward any state authority and work against any "official" influence and the like.

The anarcho-liberalistic criticism of self-management considers that the basic obstacle to the development of socialist self-management, which ostensibly they are advocating, is the LCY. They consider that self-management will remain a dead letter if it relies on "centralized organization," that is on the League of Communists and on the delegate system.

No matter how much their theses have been demogogical and politicking in nature, thanks to the League of Communists' attitude of underestimating their exponents, they nevertheless leave traces in individual circles.

The remnants of old reactionary forces in our country and in the world usually bear the marks of treason in World War II. Today all come forward chiefly with the classical slogans of bourgeois restoration. They demand the "liberalist reconstruction of Yugoslav society" which would in fact lead to abandoning socialist self-management and the policy of nonalignment, to gradual bourgeois restoration which would abolish the League of Communists and our self-managing political system and renew the multiparty system. The ideologists of the neobourgeois restoration maintain that our self-managing system is based on authoritarianism, on a one-party system, on the monolithic nature of the League of Communists. They are offering "bourgeois pluralist reconstruction" of Yugoslav society -- in fact, the revival of the multiparty system, the "democratization of the LCY." In fact, they want the legalization of factions; "free competition in the economy," the exchange of labor and capital on the bourgeois capitalist basis, as well as the existence of all ideologies.

Though these are reactionary ideas which have been known for a long time and though they have few followers in the country, they have the support of certain propaganda centers abroad. These actions, which have been revived recently, belong to the methods of psychological war against our country.

The material also deals with the dogmatic-Stalinist current which has been present in our environment for a long time and which is fairly stubborn. Its activity has been particularly revived in the recent period in particular at the time of our economic difficulties. It comes forward in the name of "efficiency" of socialist society, of its "monolithic nature," of the "homogeneity" of the nations and peoples and socialist society as a whole; it advocates the return to unitarism and centralism and the isolationism of our country and is opposed to remuneration according to work. Various interpretations of socialism, internationalism equality and sovereignty, the existence of various paths to socialism, different concepts about the role of the party, the position of man and individual in socialist society warn us that influences which we describe as dogmatic and Stalinist must not be underestimated either. Events in Kosovo have given us a recent lesson about the stubbornness of and danger from dogmatism.

These antisocialist tendencies often intermingle and are difficult to separate. Though their points of departure are different, what is common to them all is that they are directed against LCY policy, against the independence and integrity of the SFRY, that they are profoundly antidemocratic and directed against the basic and historical interests and goals of the working class. Certain political forces note that the time has come "to demystify" our revolution, and they set in motion campaigns which certain circles outside our country describe as "de-Titoization." Some individuals are trying to "settle" their political accounts with the LCY and with our society. Under the pretext of "dymystification" of history, they are trying to push through a new premise from which an assessment of historical events should be made and are thus casting doubt on the brightest and crucial aspects of our revolution: the struggle for the unity of the party on the eve of the armed revolution, the liberation war, the conflict with the Cominform in 1948, with Djilas' liberalism in 1954, with bureaucratic unitarism and etatism in 1966, with nationalism and liberalism in the seventies. According to them, the strategy of our revolution was a matter of individuals and not a reflection of the real relations in society and in the world and of the creative blazing of new trails of freedom in specific historical conditions.

Knowledge of history based on Marxism represents an integral part of the progressive political consciousness. It plays a great role in publicist activity, in journalism, the arts and in other ways of presenting the historical truth about every society. Just as the League of Communists opposes any monopoly to truth, it cannot in the same vein allow abuses and any kind of manipulation with the history for reasons which are selfish or of a politicking nature. We cannot fight against various antisocialist and anti-self-managing tendencies merely by negating them and by administratively curbing them. We must above all work through creative efforts for the further development of the socialist self-managing system. It is capable of coordinating differences, of resolving contradictions, of stimulating economic, social and cultural development, of linking individual interests with common interests, the demands for more freedoms and rights of every individual with the responsibility of every worker and of society's interests as a whole. This represents in fact the most powerful dam both against dogmatic and rightwing as well as against ultraradical extremes and destructions. It is no coincidence that these forces have become active precisely at the time when our self-managing development, in some of its aspects, has been stagnating.

There are various pressures directed at the League of Communists. They can be justified, as are those most frequently coming from society's grassroots. Or they can be reactionary, as are those of which we have spoken earlier. The League of Communists cannot be a passive observer of various pressures and interests, because in developing new democratic forms of our social life, in the absence of committed social criticisms and ideopolitical struggle, it will abandon individual, significant social positions to the influence of antisocialist forces of various tendencies.

Apart from that, while in the entire historical period which is before us, the struggle for the establishment and construction of increasingly consistent socialist social relations is in progress, there will always be resistance and ideological opposition by those forces which want to stop this inexorable historical movement.

It is the duty of our society to oppose, on behalf of the implementation of the working class' historical interests, pressures by those forces and concepts which, under various pretexts, negate the values of the revolutionary struggle so far. It is the particular duty of the League of Communists to defend the revolutionary achievements of socialism and self-managing democracy, to oppose all reactionary and retrograde attempts at influencing the consciousness of the working people and in particular of the young generation.

Criticism in the League of Communists and in our society must always be present -- criticism of oneself, of one's own practice and of every individual in society. This is not an easy process, because communists do not fight only for long term but also for everyday goals. They are, as Kardelj says, "the party" in everyday conflicts. They should be among the first to advocate the stand that contradictions existing in society should be resolved in a democratic way, that is, they should have an ear for criticism from society's grassroots.

The League of Communists must wage the ideological struggle in an organized and planned way in order to oppose more successfully the individual onslaughts from opposed ideological positions. The League of Communists is not active enough in the struggle against ideopolitical destruction and tendencies. We have many more qualified cadres to wage this ideological struggle than the opposite side has present among the public. We must train, prepare in a planned way and encourage all our cadres to enter these ideological battles and settling of accounts boldly and openly, not by directive but by their revolutionary consciousness.

There is much criticism in our country, and severe criticism at that. Criticism directed at the League of Communists and at our social situation has a particularly sharp edge. Criticism which is directed at antisocialist and anti-self-managing ideas and tendencies has a much blunter edge. There is a lot of silence, inactivity and opportunism. The revolutionary movement, if not always vital, mobile and militant, can open the doors to the class interests of the enemy. This holds regardless of whether it drapes itself with the cloak of the nation, democracy, bourgeois political pluralism, ultraradicalism or dogmatic monolithism. Our Marxists, communists and activists should be much more in evidence and much quicker in criticizing those political and theoretical views which seek a redirection of our course of socialist development.

Ideopolitical Training and Marxist Education

Our system of ideopolitical training of members and cadres of the LCY, its forms, contents and methods have been considerably promoted and enriched in recent years. Its results are significant, both by the number of people encompassed by it and by the knowledge which they have acquired. This is a valuable experience which should be the point of departure in the general effort aimed at making this work help to an even greater extent the League of Communists basic organizations, members and cadres to develop their possibilities and abilities as subjects of the entire creative activity of the LCY in our society. This is the task of basic organizations of the League of Communists of Marxist centers, of political schools at all levels and of various other forms of ideological work.

Some of the members and basic organizations of the League of Communists are grasping well some essential problems of the present juncture. They do not accept stereotype explanations of the present problems.

Their own social identity and experience encourage them to go more deeply into the topical trends and their causes, and they are trying to exert an influence themselves on all this to a greater extent and consciously. In this they expect and seek the help from the entire LCY, from our science and theory. This is the reason why they insist on a more developed democratic communication between membership and leadership of the LCY and on a much greater influence of the party grassroots on the formulation of LCY attitudes and policy.

However, the circumstances in which communists operate and inevitably fight also have a negative impact on their conduct. In those circumstances there occurs the loss of class reflex, distortion of values and manifestations of petty-property mentality among communists, and even group-property conduct in the work of League of Communists basic organizations themselves. Manifestations of etatist awareness and concept of socialism and the role of the LCY corresponding to this awareness are also encountered. In such environments there is very little struggle and self-criticial analysis of one's own actions but a great deal of formal meeting-mongering and of compromise-seeking collusion between technobureaucratic tendencies and poor work, lack of ability and conformity.

All this testifies to the importance of the ideopolitical work and ideological struggle in League of Communists basic organizations. Here the problems and contraditions of our development are displayed in a most direct way. Here some of the important conditions for the consolidation of new self-management links between the collective are built. Here the strength of our socialist self-management awareness is tested every day. Here emerge the doubts, the awareness and the questions which preoccupy League of Communists basic organizations, and which demand an answer. League of Communists basic organizations, with their feet firmly in associated labor, with their role in the LCY as a whole, and with their commitment to fight consistently for the implementation of the constitutional role of the basic work in social communities, are becoming a focal point of a big and very complex ideological and political struggle for the further development of socialist self-management. In so doing they are also one of the significant sources of understanding about this struggle.

Nonetheless, for a League of Communists basic organization to take up a stance on any ideopolitical question of a practical nature demands that the question should be considered from several aspects and that the consequences which this or that decision will entail should be borne in mind. This is not possible without a measure of elementary theoretical deliberation. It would be a good thing therefore always to see that in ideological work topical problems should be considered also from the point of view of theoretical understanding and should merge with appropriate theoretical substance. We must not permit accumulated problems and difficulties to impose on us a narrowing of our vision and lead us into pragmatism.

So, despite the great results which we have obtained since the 10th congress in the area of Marxist education and ideological training, even better organized efforts have to be made to ensure that the entire system of ideopolitical work, the entire network of institutions -- ranging from schools and universities, courses and seminars, to newspapers and publishing activities -- are developed and the constant initiative and support of the League of Communists is ensured.

Even better organized support must be given to Marxist centers to develop all aspects of their activity and to establish cooperation with the broader circles of political, scientific and cultural workers.

Political schools must study even more thoroughly the essential questions of the development of socialist self-management and international socioeconomic and political developments as well. It is their commitment to encourage initiative and an active stance of all the participants in ideological work.

Over one half of League of Communist members (58 per cent) have been born since World War II. It is a good thing always to ask what the knowledge of many young communists is on historic, social and national conditions in which our revolution was prepared, started and developed, what its essential autochthonous characteristics are, what its basic values are, what problems and difficulties it had to overcome and what its crucial stages were. In ideological work this is one of the constant and very responsible LCY tasks.

It is an encouraging fact that young people started to join the League of Communists on a massive scale in recent years. In terms of its structure from the point of view of age, the League of Communists represents one of the youngest communist and workers parties in Europe and in the world; out of the total membership 35.6 percent of the members are less than 27 years old; one half of the total number of members were admitted into the League of Communists during the past 7 and 1/2 years. There is no doubt whatsoever that young people joined the League of Communists out of conviction, and not for a career or personal calculations. This obliges the League of Communists to take ideopolitical work with young people, and their living and working conditions more into account; it should provide more opportunity for them to become more active politically in sociopolitical organizations and our self-management.

In this respect we have some serious social problems concerning the young people. Young people constitute two-thirds of the total number of unemployed people. Although the problem of unemployment is not unexpected for a country which is changing rapidly from an agricultural into an industrial one, we must tackle with all seriousness this important question of our development and mobilize the efforts of our entire social community, devise new solutions and more vigorously adopt measures which will facilitate the employment of young people.

The young people do not emerge adequately on the scene of self-management, social and political decisionmaking and development.

We cannot overlook the disparity between education and the requirements of the economy and of our society. Long-term cadre-requirement planning is required so that planning of education which is still lacking can be coordinated with these requirements.

At the moment there is a big disparity between the orientation of young people with regard to schooling and the social requirements of the future development of production forces.

The evaluations of the Federation of Social Youth are also significant for the assessment of our ideological state. Serious shortcomings exist in the work of the communists with young people and in the ranks of young people in general. The role of the Federation of Socialist Youth is still not in keeping with the role which young people have in our society and in the League of Communists. Its activity in most cases boils down to various manifestations and youth work drives in which, it must be stressed, young people take part on a massive scale.

One of the problems which directly concern our young generation is the introduction of Marxist teaching into secondary vocational training. This helps lay the foundations for a more comprehensive Marxist education and schooling of young people. However, some other conditions have not been made available yet. What is involved is the nonself-management status of the pupils; the fact that a great number of teachers of the Marxism have no qualifications to teach the subject; the still existing dichotomy between the school and material production and social practice and the generally descriptive, normativistic [as received] and even apologetic character of a great number of textbooks and manuals. One of the consequences is that the teaching is not topical and that it does not encourage adequately mature, critical and analytic deliberations among the young people.

Similar problems in connection with Marxist teaching also emerge at universities.

During the ensuring period, appropriate conditions have to be created within the framework of the Josip Broz Tito LCY political school for Marxist postgraduate training of cadres, whose knowledge and abilities should provide a more fruitful contribution to theoretical research of our socialist self-management development; for analyses of tendencies and contradictions in modern socialist processes in the world; for the spread of Marxist culture; for the development of our publishing activities and for the raising of the teaching of Marxism and of social sciences in secondary schools and at universities to a higher level.

This introductory report has pointed out only some of the most important questions of ideopolitical activity of the League of Communists and has provided only an outline of the ideological situation, problems and tendencies in our country. It was not its intention to provide answers to all the questions, nor will it be possible to do so in the discussions which will follow in this congress period, because this field of ideological activity is almost inexhaustible and constantly changing.

The experience of our entire development so far, and especially the manifestations and the events during the past few years, suggest that the League of Communists must work in a far more militant way, and its members far more resolutely, for the further development of all essential achievements of the revolution and for the implementation of the strategic objectives of socialist construction and the historic orientations of the working class. This ideological offensive of the League of Communists must be felt and made evident at all points of party organization and activity. In this sense our public information media, into which controversial ideological concepts penetrate at times because of lack of vigilance and sensationalism, must more consistently and with greater class sensitivity work to overcome various ideological vaccillations and doubts and for the implementation of the LCY stands and policy.

The efforts made recently in all directions have the same meaning: in the future consolidation of LCY unity as an ideopolitical vanguard of the working class and of the working people and as a cohesive force of our society, in the content of its actions, in the manner of its organization and in internal relations, in changing its socio-class composition, in the manner of decisionmaking and formulation of stands in the implementation of cadre policy and in the forms of ideopolitical training.

This unity must be enhanced both in the development of the strategic orientations of the LCY and its practical actions which it carries out together with all socialist forces of our society. This unity must be expressed ideopolitically:

In concrete building and strengthening of the factors of the further development of our socialist democracy and consolidation of the social power of the working class and of the working people;

In the further development of equality and socialist togetherness of all our nations and nationalities, on the foundations of constitutional orientations and of the LCY program;

In the building of conditions whereby the policy of economic stabilization will become an integral part of the consolidation of socialist self-management and of the development of the constitutional role of the basic organization of associated labor;

In devising and implementing the measures for a more adequate evaluation of production and creative work;

In the development of Marxist theory and creative social criticism, protagonists must be at the front of organized socialist forces led by the League of Communists;

In the actions against attempts of ideological destruction of revolutionary achievements.

In so doing we shall create the necessary conditions to overcome the contradictions which give rise to ideological doubts, to eliminate some basic difficulties and problems on this plane, to promote ideological and political work in our society and in the League of Communists, and for ideologically more powerful, more mobile and more militant activity of the League of Communists.

Other Plenum Speakers

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[Excerpts] Belgrade, 20 Apr (TANJUG) -- Following the introductory speech by Lazar Mojsov, the first speaker at today's session of the LCY Central Committee, Kiro Gligorov spoke about the complex nature of our society which inevitably led to many contradictions. Bearing in mind the continuous interest to overcome these contradictions, Gligorov pointed out the need for the League of Communists and science to continuously study social trends, examining and monitoring real trends in society. For the time being they are not researched and monitored enough so that on this basis conclusions for action and ideological activity in particular can be drawn.

Speaking about the material submitted to Central Committee members, Gligorov said that the ideological problems of society are being treated in a fairly stereotyped way. Due to a lack of real analyses, dogmatism, centralism, separatism, liberalism, rightwing attitudes and other phenomena which should be exposed. These are nevertheless examined chiefly outside the context of space and time. The real, deep social and economic changes in society are not sufficiently analyzed. There is no analysis of the position of workers and of basic organizations of associated labor, not enough reference is made to the very pronounced increase in bureaucratic-etatist structures, to the enormous phenomena of the administration, the position of social activities, to sudden abandoning of villages, etc.

It is in this social and economic ferment, Gligorov said, that the causes of various phenomena and the material basis for various ideological trends should be looked for. Dognatic and liberal concepts find a favorable soil in them; in them nationalism, in particular economic nationalism, concepts which express "regret" for centralism, etc., find strength. Gligorov recalled that there is much talk about resistance to enemies of various kinds. Regardless of how much the words used about the need to settle accounts with enemies might sound revolutionary, Gligorov said, a genuine offensive stand toward all enemies of socialist self-management is the timely reply to outstanding questions and constradictons of society, and overcoming ideological differences in the LCY.

Gligorov also described the idealization of social relations as an ideological problem. At times one has the impression, when reading certain authors, that we are building a test tube society. Unfortunately, it can only be built painstakingly in the class struggle in which there is conflict between various and contradictory interests and through which the daily social battle for the change in existing relations can the new self-managing socialist society be gradually built. Dealing with the attempts to reduce the sovereignty of the working class within the framework of national sovereignty to the framework of national states, Hamdija Pozderac noted that this means to strengthen the statehood of the republics and to strengthen provincial etatism. Attempts are made to introduce such concepts, he said, into our system via the "back door."

The growing stress being placed on the prerogatives of the state in our society not only pushes self-management onto sidelines but in real terms leads to national relations being separated from the class foundations of our society and self-management. This, in fact, represents a real threat to the state becoming absolute and equated exclusively with a certain nation which is in our situation theoretically and practically untenable. De-etatisation and decentralization has been and remains our orientation. At the present level, it proceeds through the implementation of the constitutional concept of the basic organization of associated labor.

The thesis is again being revived, he said, about the most numerous people and nation being the basic constitutive element of the state and representative of the republican and provincial interests.

Having stressed that associated labor is the most exemplary form of implementing national interest, that in associated labor people matter as workers and are in this respect fully equal regardless to which nation they belong, Pozderac stressed that this sovereignty which is built on the basis of associated labor cannot be divided and cannot be reduced to a national level.

Debates today have shown that individuals believe that autonomies within the framework of the Socialist Republic of Serbia can be kept exclusively as cultural autonomies, while others believe that autonomy should be built through the state. Both views are untenable. Were we to allow that in our deliberations of these issues the categories of ownership of land or capital prevail, we would succumb to the danger of negating the very socio-economic foundations of the development of socialism in our country and make it possible for counterrevolution to manifest itself in a new form. The working class, in Pozderac's words, is the direct exponent of sovereignty in socialism. This means that the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina is not a forced republic or an artificial republic or a republic agreed on by other nations; it is the national state of Serbs, Croats and Muslims living in it and of other nations and nationalities living in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Today some individuals even in political life, Pozderac went on, believe that the Muslim, Serbian, Croat, Montenegrin, Slovene and Macedonian nationalisms have emerged as resistance to Albanian nationalism and irredentism. Views are growing today that the only expression of Serbian nationalism is the non-constituting of the Socialist Republic of Serbia on constitutional positions and the unequal position of the Serbian people in our country; that nationalism and chauvinism in Bosnia-Hercegovina comes from outside, from the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the Socialist Republic of Croatia; that Bosnia-Hercegovina would be almost a happy country were there no such nationalisms.

It is, therefore, no coincidence that individuals are again reviving the thesis about more or less dangerous nationalisms, about good-natured nationalism, the kind of concepts which existed during the mass movement. [reference to the Croatian nationalist movement in the early seventies] There is no need, however, to elaborate how much these views are onesided and untenable. In the present conditions in the construction of socialism and socialist self-managing and social relations, nationalism emerges not as a consequence of the unresolved national question but in order to cover up other political tendencies.

This is also confirmed, after all, by the experience from our not so distant past. Take, for instance, the roads affair in Slovenia, the mass movement in Croatia, liberalism in Serbia, Muslim, Serbian and Croat nationalisms in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Whichever conflict you take which our party has had since the war with forces which are opposed to self-management, these forces acted from the positions of nationalism. This is also clearly confirmed by the counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo which are carried out under nationalistic and irredentist slogans. In every situation, nationalism has been the banner for rallying all enemy forces in the struggle against socialism and self-management.

However, when we speak about nationalism in present Yugoslav society, Pozderac observed, we cannot speak of it as merely a relic of bourgeois society and remnants of petit-bourgeois consciousness. Today, it is perfectly clear that it is in the economic, historical, cultural and political contradictions of our society that the causes and root of nationalism lie. In a multinational community such as ours there are and will be for a long time to come many objective contradictions. This is true in particular in the economic sphere, where these contradications have negative implications on the national relations and where they acquire nationalistic undertones.

Therefore, the question is asked, what does the polemic mean about whether separatist nationalism or the unitarist concept of society represents a greater danger for us today. All nationalisms are equally dangerous, aggressive and exclusive.

Miladin Korac spoke about the unity of the revolutionary theory and practice and about the need for lasting creative theoretical work in the League of Communists.

Stressing the significance of the theoretical work in the League of Communists, Korac proposed that conditions be created at the political school in Kumrovec or elsehwere for small groups of people, above all younger communists, who have acquired faculty education and who have sense for theoretical work, obtaining the opportunity to concentrate for a certain period of time (for instance, for 2 years) [TANJUG parentheses] on the study of the most significant work of Marxist literature. That is, they should be able to acquire a more complete Marxist education and become capable of analyzing independently and critically the trends in our country and in the world.

Without going into discussions about whether there has or has not been stagnation in the development of self-management, it should be said, Ilijaz Kurtesi notes, that the adoption of the Constitution and the standpoints of the 10th and 11th LCY Congresses created a true basis for the deepening of and qualitative changes in the continued development of self-management trends. Our expectations in any case were greater. We should have carried out a deeper analysis of why things did not move more quickly, and what the causes and reasons were so that in the period which lies before us we can clear the path for further, more successful development.

In the resolution of the national question, Kurtesi emphasized, we have become a country which is an example in current complex international relations. It cannot be said that we have not been conscious of the fact that many dangers are lying in wait for this policy of national relations. But it can be said that in individual periods we have not been sufficiently vigilant or ready to oppose sharply all attempts at eroding these relations. The remains of the conquered classes have not reconciled themselves to their own positions and in all circumstances they have tried to infect the young generation in those environments.

Nationalism as a reactionary ideology and inheritance has attempted to find and sometimes found a place in the sun and introduced its own poisonous outpourings into the social fabric. It was especially dangerous when a link was formed between nationalism and chauvinism and bureaucratism and technocratic tendencies. Nationalism has frequently been sown in a legal way among the young, and this has had major consequences for the development of intranational relations.

Instances of organized irredentism in Kosovo as a form of counterrevolution, which is being supported and encouraged by official Albania and its propaganda, by other reactionary circles in the world, and internal enemies, have endangered the gains of the revolution and the correct Leninist policy of national relations, Kurtesi continued. Our weaknesses in socioeconomic development, particularly in the inequitable development of individual parts of the country, republics and provinces, made favorable ground for activity by the enemy and for the undermining of intranational relations.

A number of communists, and even leaderships, were not conscious of the many dangers, and could not separate the struggle for national equality from nationalism. They allowed themselves to dream, they returned to the myths of the past and forgot the current historic interests and tasks. A number of communists succumbed to these influences, but remained in the League of Communists. All this, Kurtesi judged, had a negative influence on the realization of our correct, revolutionary policy of intranational relations. The realization of complete national equality for all the nations and nationalities should become even more the concern of every communist and of all progressive forces in our society. Despite the number of problems and difficulties, Kurtesi emphasized, the policy of brotherhood and unity has deep roots in the consciousness and attitude of the great majority of people and citizens.

Speaking about the role of the information media in the stabilization of the political situation in Kosovo, Kurtesi judged that the information media outside the province played a significant role and objectively informed our public. Unfortunately, he said, there were also newspapers and individuals whose coverage was more sensational than truthful, with unnecessary reference to history, a presentation containing negative trends only, and a glossing over of positive trends and activities carried out by progressive forces in Kosovo from the ranks of all the nations and nationalities. Concerning the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins, which is one of the most delicate political issues of the current struggle and stabilization of the political situation in Kosovo, there was one-sided information, which does not contribute to the successful struggle of the League of Communists and all other forces. Sometimes one got the impression that the whole of the Albanian nation was being blamed, and this might also have had very negative consequences for brotherhood and unity. It is clear that this is not the function of our press. That is why, above all in the editorial boards, suitable measures to overcome such phenomena must be taken by communists and all working people, Kurtesi said.

Speaking about the weaknesses of our historiography, Bosiljka Janjatovic said that they leave room for various forces which, applying its methodology falsely, speak about the past in a way which is not only scientifically unfounded, but is pure lies and falsification and directly politically harmful. A recent example, she noted, was the attempt to demonstrate the ethno-genesis of the Albanians and to quote long rejected and out-of-date reactionary theories about blood and land. All this, Bosiljka Janjatovic emphasized, is part of the counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo.

In practice we continue exhausting our energies and preoccupying ourselves, Metodi Patrovski said, by trying to establish what the League of Communists should not be, and what problems are not its problems, and keep discussing and arguing over that which the League of Communists should not concern itself. We keep debating what the League of Communists is and is not, where it should not interfere and where it should prove itself. At the 12th congress we must clearly establish and precisely state what moral values the League of Communists is promoting and quite concretely say for what values, ethical norms and principles every communist must struggle, Metodi Petrovski said.

No one who has any respect for truth and objectivity can deny the LCY's enviable balance of achievements, but we make no use of these achievements to conceal our current problems and difficulties, Kiro Hadzivasilev said. He stressed that the LCY's self-critical courage is a sign of health, which reflects our firm resolve to persist on the hard and complex road of the consistent and complete realization of our ideals and goals. But if we are to be successful in this we need a deeper awareness of the essence of the problems confronting us. Hadzivasilev stressed that the short 8-year period of the implementation of the new Constitution has convinced us in the correctness of our orientation and of the basic solutions, but that it had also brought us face to face with a number of unexpected problems and disruptions.

It is undeniable, he added, that we must devote our attention primarily to the sphere of the ratio between accumulation and various forms of consumption. Here we face, above all, the problems of relatively low work productivity and poor accumulative capacity and also of excessive consumption, which considerably exceeds our possibilities. We lack a comprehensive and deep analyses which show why this is happening, Hadzivasilev said.

We cannot say that we have gone far enough into these questions, Hadzivasilev went on. We usually offer a generalized explanation of what is correct, but this does not help very much in the struggle to overcome our present problems and difficulties. We say that all this is happening because workers have not yet acquired control over all income and because the latter is still to a great extent controlled by the forces of alienated economic and political power. But the question which immediately imposes itself is why workers in associated labor have not yet acquired control over all income. Does this not show, he asked, that we have not yet fully formulated and provided the reliable foundations on which workers in associated labor can really establish full control over all income, over all the means and processes of social reproduction. Is this not in fact the main reason why we have not yet succeeded in implementing some of the fundamental principles and provisions of the Constitution and the Law on Associated Labor?

In the material for today's session and in the report, a series of significant issues on the ideological trends among the younger generation are also raised but to some of them, including to the question of communists not acting in a sufficiently organized and fundamental way in the youth organization and among the youth in general. We have not given a satisfactory and complete answer, Emira Eslamovic said.

Speaking about serious ideological problems and even failures, she also pointed out the more aggresssive statements by individuals and groups from the ranks of the young from the positions of petit-bourgeois liberalism and spurious leftwing radicalism. What causes concern is the situation in which there is either no reaction at all to such phenomena, she said; or if there is, it is done tardily and irresponsibly. If communists and youth organizations merely register such phenomena or make a wholesale assessment of them it is obvious that what is involved in such cases is a kind of opportunism.

Iztok Winkler first warned about the danger of our moving from the fundamental contradictions of our development to the field of confrontation in which we are no longer capable of seeing the forest for the trees. It is therefore a good thing that we have placed some fundamental aspects of the present ideological struggle into direct relation with the basic sociopolitical goals. Pointing to the tendencies of creating an elite in the sphere of culture, Winkler stressed that the League of Communists is today increasingly in conflict with the forces which see their role in enlightment as one in which it is precisely to them that the leading role in cultural creativity belongs. In this way, in fact, conditions would be created for the division of society into two parts, one of which is elevated and speaks on behalf, and instead of, the working people as their cultural guardian.

An attempt is also being made to prove that every step in the development of a nation or nationality threatens the original development of another nation or nationality. What is said in fact with this is that a socialist self-managing community of the nations and nationalities is not possible. Therefore, the communists are particularly responsible for the public use and development of the languages of all of our nations and nationalities as well as for the affirmation of the language as a modern and developed means of social communication. It is well-known that denationalization has always stemmed from imperialist and hegemonist pressures and not from the joint life of nations and nationalities on our soil.

The equal position of members of all nations and nationalities and of their languages in all our republics and provinces must be the proof of maturity and responsibility of every people in their historically gained sovereignty, Winkler said in advocating the constitutional use of language in public.

Nandor Major pointed in his contribution to the debate, submitted in writing, about the contradictions in League of Communists work. One of the most important contradictions for us at present, Major said, is that on the one hand the people are committed to the constitutionally established self-managing relations, and on the other hand, in the most important segments of these relations -- such as relations of income acquisition, relations in expanded reproduction, relations of the free exchange of labor -- etatist and capital relations are still realized on the basis of the alienation of income from the working people.

Dealing with statements made by technocrats about the exponents of self-managing transformation of society having to be the so-called most developed section of the working class and technical intelligentsia, Nandor Major added: And while the League of Communists is constantly committed to building the unity of the entire working class and is committed to it as a whole, being the subject of the revolution, technocrats seem to estimate that a split in the working class would in itself strengthen their position, that the interests of the so-called "new working class" would be more easily coordinated with their interests and that -- maybe they are making a mistake here -- people who would be their exponents would more easily find themselves in their ranks. Nandor Major concluded that the attitudes of the antiself-managing forces are not mere defiance of the League of Communists but the reply to real existing social contradictions, and that it is precisely in this that the opportunity of this people lies to deceive some people and to win over some others as their followers.

Mirjana Pocek-Matic spoke of some concepts which are being offered as alternatives to socialist self-management. Extreme concepts and alternatives such as, let us say, ultra-radicalism on one hand and the new right on the other meet in one very essential point -- this is the attitude to the League of Communists. They offer self-management without the League of Communists, or more precisely, they are for the abolition of the League of Communists. Attacks by antiself-managing and antisocialist forces are always stronger and always more vociferous when we are facing difficulties and outstanding issues of further development, Mirjana Pocek-Matic continued.

The area for attacks, however, is growing and spreading both to the extent to which we pass over in a tolerant and opportunist manner these trends and also to the extent to which we pass over our own weaknesses in the League of Communists, weaknesses which reduce its ability to be up to the mark as regards its tasks, Mirjana Pocek-Matic said.

In the political school in Kumrovec the seventh generation of 109 students from all our republics and provinces, from all our nations and nationalities, from all our social and party structures is now studying. We have been working for 7 years, but we are in fact continuing the already long tradition of party education, Dusan Vejnovic said. In 7 years, Vejnovic then recalled, more than 500 lecturers have taken part in the tuition in Kumrovec. Speaking about the results of education of some 600 party activists, this being the number who completed the school, Vejnovic said that in principle they return to their jobs but that some of them also assume more responsible functions in society. Today in the League of Communists, Vejnovic added, there are approximately 900 schools and there are also several other schools: youth schools, trade union schools, schools of self-management and others.

My impression, Dusan Popovic stressed, is that in the League of Communists we are fairly successfully registering and describing the topical ideopolitical issues but that we are lagging behind in the offensive ideopolitical section which would curb alien concepts and affirm more our ideology and theory.

The most important ideopolitical issues stem from, or are linked with, the development of socialist self-management and the conflict of this development with statism and techno-bureaucratism from which nationalist forces and tendencies grow. Individual communists have presented views and opinions about our national policy, including views to the effect that the Socialist Republic of Serbia is not constitutionally constituted and that the Socialist Republic of Serbia is thus not equal with regard to other republics and the Serbian people not equal with regard to our other people.

Our attitudes to nationalities, too, Popovic continued, are called into question. Such views and attitudes are contrary to our national policy and national relations which Josip Broz Tito presented in his report at the 10th LCY Congress. If some leaderships in the League of Communists, Dusan Popovic added, try to restore national relations to the degree of development of the political concept and legal norms which existed before the 1974 Constitution and the amendments, then such national relations would come into conflict with the present degree of development of social self-management. They would put sections of the League of Communists and of its members at variance with and even bring them into conflict with delegates and the delegate method of decisionmaking; in practice they would negate the ideopolitical foundations of the political system of socialist self-management, the manifestation of a multitude of self-managing interests and their democratic coordination and thus also the responsibility of the republics and provinces for their own development and for the development of the Yugoslav federal community.

Our national policy can and must develop further in line with the development of self-management, but it cannot be returned to obsolete relations which prevailed earlier. The status of national minority is contrary to the real position of direct producer in associated labor, where all workers are equal in all their self-managing rights and obligations. National minority, he recalled, is a category of bourgeois society and of its rights and of the initial stages of socialism in which etatist relations exerted powerful domination over workers' self-management and in which direct socialist democracy was not developed. To bring back the status of national minority would mean withdrawing from our principled orientation of, as Edvard Kardelj wrote, "Having to ensure to national minorities the broadest rights which the socialist community can ensure and which are necessary in order that minorities, too, might live their normal national life within the framework of the Yugoslav community of people -- in other words, that they in our country do not feel as minorities but as equal people, as stated in the Constitution, as an equal nationality."

To raise the issue of minority and to take 18 years of socialist self-managing development back to the national relations as existed in society still heavily encumbered by etatism is not simply an expression of a nonhistorical view of the development of society and mere voluntarism. It cannot even be carried out in a society of associated labor without upheavals and without violating the rights of the nations and nationalities, laid down by the Constitution, Popovic said.

Differences in the national policy cross swords most severely and are reflected most gravely in the situation in Kosovo, Popovic went on. They make the political stabilization difficult and could lead us into an even more difficult position than we have now. I would like to recall that in the discussion on the platform for Kosovo and its adoption, the national policy of the LCY was not called into question. On the contrary, we criticized the inconsistent and bad implementation of this policy, the errors and lack of vigilance toward the internal and external enemy, while we fully confirmed the principled attitudes of our national policy in the analysis of the experience of the counterrevolution in Kosovo. We can achieve political stabilization in Kosovo only by jointly implementing, in unified ideopolitical action, the national policy of the LCY and the development of self-management. Outside this policy or on some kind of different foundations, we cannot reestablish the national relations in Kosovo on the basis of togetherness of all nations and nationalities, on the foundations of brotherhood and unity.

Relations and organizational standards of the LCY are also most closely linked with the basic issues of self-management and national policy. Some differences, but in a different way, have also become manifest in this context. The LCY statute clearly establishes that it is a unified organization. Forums and organs of the LCY are responsible for the establishment of the LCY policy, for its unified and consistent implementation in the entire League of Communists and in society. From the statutory provisions of the LCY it follows clearly that the League of Communists of the republics and provinces do not have the status of a unified organization. This status belongs only to the LCY, and this should not be called into question, Dusan Popovic said.

I agree completely that the League of Communists must fight consistently against bourgeois interpretations and static ideas about socialism, Joze Smole said. However, this kind of general orientation is insufficient. According to him, the basic problem is the continued development of socialist self-management relations and, in this respect, there is a crisis within the League of Communists.

In declarations we all swear by socialist self-management, Smole said. However, there are great differences with regard to specific actions in interpreting socialist self-management. Today everyone starts with many phrases about socialist self-management and very often proposes solutions which are essentially opposed to socialist self-management and narrow the material basis of self-management, while expressing lack of confidence in the working class. Therefore, the problem is in us, in the League of Communists. Some kind of remnants of bourgeois society are not to blame for a series of legal and other measures which are proposed and which are along the lines of statism. I do not believe, Smole emphasized, that the remnants of bourgeois society are active in some competent bodies, for only League of Communist members are there, including members of the League of Communists Central Committee.

I am in no way underestimating either the ultraleft or ultraright, nor the bourgeois nor any other kind of concept, Smole went on. I am only thinking that our basic ideological problem is our own statism, our bureaucracy, whether in the League of Communists or in executive state organs, from the federation to the commune, or in business structures. Unless we resolutely oppose the activity of our own statism, then we cannot speak about opening up prospects for socialist self-management relations.

The proposers of various centralist measures, let us say in the sphere of the foreign currency system, are not some kind of oppositionists who are active outside the League of Communists. They are the Federal Administration and the Federal Executive Council, League of Communists members, including members of the LCY Central Committee.

A large part of associated labor does not agree with such a method of solving the foreign currency system, and in particular, the Slovene League of Communists does not agree with it.

Of course, Smole went on, the state and executive organs will have a large role in the future. Only this role with all its measures must act to develop socialist self-management, to motivate work collectives and work organizations to solve problems and to increase production, and so forth.

We speak proudly about the role of Yugoslavia in the world, the great prestige which we have gained through Tito's policy, and the continuity of Tito's policy, Smole said. It should be clear to all of us that if we deviate from socialist self-management, but we do agree that there is still not enough of it, expecially outside factories, and that we are slow to expose the causes of deviations and to eliminate them, Anton Tus emphasized. The LCY and society as a whole are not waging a persistent struggle against bureaucratization and the phenomena which accompany it.

The struggle against bureaucratization and deviation in the political system -- and not only against bureaucratization of part of the administrative state structures and leading economic and political organs, but also against the bureaucratization of self-management bodies -- is not resolute or permanent. This, like our lack of consistency and responsibility, is one of the basic barriers to the more rapid development of self-management, Tus said. We all know well, he recalled, that the LCY must raise its ideopolitical and action capability and maintain the unity of its ranks in order to carry out its leading role successfully in society.

Communists in the Yugoslav People's Army, Tus said, assess that the League of Communists must wage a resolute battle to maintain the purity of our revolution and to develop its gains. The Yugoslav People's Army itself is a product of the revolution and is sensitive to attacks on the revolution, in particular to attacks on the brotherhood and unity of our nations and nationalities and the work and personality of Comrade Tito. The all-Yugoslav nature of the Yugoslav People's Army enables it to nurture, develop and consolidate brotherhood and unity between the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia and Yugoslav socialist patriotism directly. The army is successfully carrying out these tasks and nurturing the traditions of the national liberation struggle.

In relation to the part of Dusan Popovic's discussion which related to relations between the province and the republic, Milojko Drulovic recalled that these problems were discussed at the Vojvodina League of Communists Provincial Committee and at the Serbia League of Communists Central Committee session in December. At the start of January, conclusions were unanimously adopted relating to the problem of autonomy and the problem of community and unity on principles of self-management in the spirit of the Constitution. Therefore our main task, Drulovic said, is to carry out these tasks; however, this does not mean that we should end the discussion on principled questions.

I am not sure that we can achieve more significant results in the way Comrade Joze Smole spoke of in the discussion today, Nikola Stojanovic said. This method of approaching problems raises for me at least two questions. Is it in order for the League of Communists in a republic or province to be against a specific law, the adoption of which is yet to be worked out in the institutions of the self-management system, and at the same time for us to call for an adequate role for the League of Communists? The second question is how to solve problems if we continue to "entrench" ourselves in the standpoints of republican organs, particularly when it is a question of specific laws, and to come to congresses or institutions in the federation with these standpoints. In order for something to be confirmed as self-managing in our community, it has to offer a real basis on which to satisfy interests and solve basic issues in all republics and provinces. Offering on behalf of self-management a concept which will satisfy only partial interests by its very nature is not the self-management way.

I do not know that there are organized socialist forces in Yugoslavia opposed to self-management, Stojanovic said. In all republics and provinces, in the whole country, there are clearly individuals and groups which in one way or another oppose the process of self-management. Therefore, it seems that we need to work together as a whole on a program of specific action in Yugoslavia to develop self-management and strengthen togetherness. The pooling of labor and resources is one of the significant, so to speak, crucial orientations. However, in order for this to be translated into real trends it must be stimulated and supported by approaches which mean bearing the responsibility for the creation of relations in Yugoslavia which will mean the strengthening of togetherness on the basis of the Constitution and law on associated labor. When I raised this problem, I had in mind the need for communists in all republics and provinces to first of all start with themselves and their approaches and their contribution to this. In this context it seems to me that since Comrade Smole's approach is not along that line, I consider it necessary to say that I do not agree with that approach and to point out the implications if we all took this approach.

If now the Bosnia-Hercegovina League of Communists were to announce publicly that it did not accept some specific law which is yet to be adopted, and I have not defended or attacked the existing law on the foreign currency system, nor the measures which are being proposed, I am simply raising the question, what would this mean? We have institutions of the system in which a law is adopted and in which, as communists, we must bear all the responsibility and contribute to finding a solution with the concept of self-management.

VOJVODINA'S KRUNIC VIEWS RELATIONS IN SERBIA

AU202025 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Apr 82 p 6

[S. Nikolic report]

[Text] At its 17th conference, which will begin in Novi Sad on 22 April, the League of Communists of Vojvodina does not intend to speak about itself but rather about unsolved problems and ways of resolving them. This was stressed at a session of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Vojvodina, the last session of the present membership, which adopted a draft list of candidates for organs of the League of Communists of Vojvodina, the League of Communists of Serbia and the LCY.

Speaking about the 4-year work, Bosko Krunic, president of the Provincial Committee, pointed out that time will soon show whether we could have been or had to have been stricter, not only in assessing our own weaknesses but also in assessing the situation and activities in the organization of the League of Communists of Vojvodina as a whole.

Recalling that it has been nearly a full year since the topic about relations in Serbia, that is in the League of Communists of Serbia and about relations within the federation, has assumed primary importance, Krunic said that the 17th conference will discuss this problem. I believe, he added, that our standpoints, which we adopted and formulated in the conclusions of the 25th session of the Provincial Committee, are being confirmed, particularly about the fact that we are obliged in the League of Communists of Vojvodina to work and to adopt a principled attitude toward the obligation to consistently implement the constitution and the congress decisions regarding the development of the province, the republic and the federation, to strengthen the self-managing integration of our togetherness in general and in the Socialist Republic of Serbia. We are obliged to wage a struggle against the emergence of all forms of nationalism, liberalism, dogmatism, against every kind of isolationism, separatism and against every centralism as an antiself-managing tendency and practice.

It is necessary that we continue to work with conviction and with a feeling of responsibility to solve the practical problems of implementing unity and togetherness in the Socialist Republic of Serbia and Yugoslavia. In this connection it is always most important that we strengthen the process of self-managing integration and the equality of the peoples and nationalities.

These are primarily our responsibilities as the League of Communists of Vojvodina to the Socialist Republic of Serbia, that is the League of Communists of Serbia, and to the LCY and our obligations to strengthen the Yugoslav unity and togetherness. For this reason we must, Krunic said, insist on the political practice of negotiations, democratic discussions and equal rights as the prerequisites for promoting relations in the province, the republic and the federation and for the development of self-management.

Our conference, undoubtedly, must emphasize the obligations which we have as the League of Communists of Vojvodina and as the entire socialist autonomous province to strengthen the Yugoslav socialist togetherness and the LCY unity on the adopted foundations. It is expected of us that, particularly in this respect, we make our contribution.

At this session 113 candidates for the new Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Vojvodina were proposed and that many will also be elected. Thirteen members will be elected to the provincial committee presidium. They are: Zivan Berisavljevic, Mihalj Bognar, Marko Djuricin, Katalin Hajnal, Stipan Kopilovic, Bosko Krunic, Istvan Molnar, Dusan Popovic, Sreta Stajic, Djordje Stojsic, Vasilije Silic, Milovan Sogorov and Slavko Veselinov.

Petar Matic Dule is proposed as member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium from Vojvodina, while Vukasin Loncar and Bora Odadzic are proposed as members of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Serbia.

A list of 40 candidates for delegates to the 12th LCY Congress was also adopted at the session of the Provincial Committee. At this session the Provincial Committee also adopted draft conclusions which will be submitted to the 17th Conference of the League of Communists of Vojvodina.

BELGRADE RADIO ON KOSOVO BEFORE LC CONFERENCE

AU192142 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 19 Apr 82

[From the "At the Center of Attention" program]

[Kosta Krajincanic commentary]

[Excerpts] On 25 and 26 April delegates to the 13th Conference of the League of Communists of Kosovo in Pristina will set forth the experience and observations of this province. At the end of the 2-day conference, they will also adopt a resolution on future political activities, which should, along with the existing documents, represent another impetus for more energetic action by communists in Kosovo, thus yielding richer results.

The aim of this action is, briefly, a permanent stabilization of the political situation in that part of our country. This means primarily a struggle against counterrevolution, a settling of accounts with the class enemy, along with a stabilization of the socio-economic trends, the development of self-management and the strengthening of brotherhood, unity and togetherness.

The highest meeting of communists in Kosovo was preceded by election conferences in all communal organizations in the province. These conferences were a kind of subjective measuring force. They took a specific approach and openly faced the truth. Other socio-political organizations have also made their contribution to viewing the controversial reality in Kosovo. In this respect the sharp, revolutionary words of members of the Veterans Federation excelled. At any rate, nowadays we all know that such an approach is the only fitting one. For, as Pristina communists recently stressed at their election conference, the glossing over and unrealistic portrayal of the state of affairs in many fields of social life in Kosovo have for a long time blunted ideological-class awareness. They have thus also impeded the struggle against the ideologically alien views of nationalists and irredentists.

Naturally, to establish the level of complexity of the political-security situation in Kosovo is still a difficult and complex task today. This task is to a greater extent in the hands of the delegates to the 13th conference. For this reason the delegates are expected to objectively assess and to weigh the seriousness and significance of all phenomena in the social reality of Kosovo, particularly those occurring during the past year, that is, since the counterrevolutionary developments broke out.

One of these phenomena which must certainly be taken into consideration as a signpost for further activity is the behavior of the workers class under the conditions of the enemy's activity and the activity against the enemy. It is an irrefutable fact that the counter-revolution, despite some sporadic cases, has not found a suitable ground for its activity in the associated labor. And what is even more important: The immunity to the bacillus of nationalism and irredentism has always been greater where there has been work, efforts, productivity and self-management.

We have recorded such an example. In the Fazita wallpaper factory in Pristina, we spoke to workers, members of the League of Communists.

When the analysis on the political-security situation in Kosovo is completed, which, to a great extent, is expected from the 13th Provincial Conference of the League of Communists, all the so-called positive and negative examples will have the strength of well-argued statements. In other words, along with the example of the Fazita factory of Pristina, there will also be opposing examples. For instance, there are the cases of a group of workers of the Kosovo electricity generating industry and some other collectives taking part in hostile demonstrations. Or there were work stoppages on the building sites of the Ramiz Sadiku enterprise, where the enemy was able to interfere precisely because of weaknesses in self-management and economic operations.

However, in this complex task of weighing facts, one must not forget the fact that what is most dangerous is the raising of individual examples to the level of general examples, whatever the case might be. One must also bear in mind the fact that in light of the present political situation in Kosovo, many events, which would under normal circumstances be treated without any excessive drama, are now assuming a special dimension.

We all know what enormous social damage has been caused by minimizing the phenomena of Albanian nationalism and chauvinism that had been going on for several years. It is no less damaging today when one minimizes those, albeit rare, examples of good intranational relations, strengthening of mutual confidence and the overcoming of personal conflicts between the people of different nationalities. Suspicion toward such examples, and the Fazita factory is such an example, is the first sign of a lack of patience, political wisdom and good will to stabilize the situation in Kosovo gradually, but permanently.

At the same time, it is certain that such a political program does not mean that the cases of nationalist rampage and rowdy-terrorist behavior can be tolerated forever. This behavior and rampaging, unless it is prevented and punished in time, could become a mass phenomenon. The primary responsibility for this lies with the League of Communists of Kosovo, which should always be able to count on the assistance and support of our entire socialist community.

KOSOVO ASSEMBLY PROCEEDINGS 20 APR REPORTED

LD201546 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1057 GMT 20 Apr 82

[Excerpts] Pristina, 20 Apr (TANJUG) -- All three chambers of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo were in session today. In the last session of the present mandate delegates adopted, at the joint session chaired by Ilija Vakic, the proposed decision on the changes and addenda to the standing order of the Kosovo Assembly. Changes and addenda had to be made following the adoption last year of the amendment to the Kosovo Constitution which refers to the implementation of Comrade Tito's initiative on collective work, decisionmaking and responsibility, as well of experiences gathered in the work of the Assembly and its delegate bodies over several years.

At the end of the joint session Ilija Vakic, president of the Assembly, thanked the delegates for their commitment in the present delegate mandate period and stressed that in the past 4 years the Assembly of this province discussed and implemented its activity [words indistinct] all the tasks imposed by life. The main aspect of the work of the Kosovo Assembly has been, in Ilija Vakic's words, the further development of the delegate system and of socialist self-managing relations, implementation of Comrade Tito's initiative on collective work and responsibility. This top delegate body in the province has made its contribution to the total activity concerned with the stabilization of the political and economic situation in Kosovo, in particular in overcoming the complex situation caused by the escalation of Albanian nationalism and irredentism as well as in resolving all the problems and difficulties which have burdened the province's development in the past few years.

Among the documents adopted at separate sessions of the chambers, particular attention is drawn to the decision establishing the volume and disposal of foreign exchange and the right to buy foreign exchange for the needs of this province and its municipalities in 1982. According to this decision, for the needs this year the total volume of foreign exchange which can be bought on the foreign exchange market in countervalue to the dinar has been established at 267.4 million dinars.

SMOLE REPORTS ON WORLD ISSUES, MINORITIES

LD152200 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1530 GMT 15 Apr 82

[Text] Ljubljana, 15 Apr (TANJUG) -- Class approach in the treatment of international problems, links between internal social trends and foreign policy, socialization of our country's foreign policy and resolute struggle for the original principles of nonaligned policy represented the basic points in the introductory report which Joze Smole, member of the LCY Central Committee and chairman of the commission for international relations of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia, submitted to the commission for international relations.

Class approach to international problems, Joze Smole said, is basic and logical for such revolutionary and vanguard forces, such as our League of Communists. This approach is for communists the basic measure of progressive attitude on the domestic plane and within international frameworks.

The strengthening of security and independence of Yugoslavia depends on further development of socialist self-management, as was always stressed by Comrade Tito. Any departure from this could directly endanger our independence and our nonalignment policy, Smole emphasized.

From the point of view of continuity of Tito's policy, which ensured Yugoslavia a great reputation in the world, the socialization of our entire international activity is particularly important. The League of Communists in future should strive even more for the implementation of the constitutional principle that the working man is the subject of the entire policy -- domestic and foreign.

Clear class stances are especially expressed in our nonaligned orientation based on the original principles, in advocating full equality in international relations and respect for the right of every people to choose their own road of development against any interference in internal affairs, in advocating allround support for the liberation movements in the world and all peoples which are struggling for national and social liberation.

Intensified confrontation between blocs, destabilization and opening of new hotbeds of crisis are the characteristics of the present world situation, Joze Smole stated. In this situation, the Nonaligned Movement has a special role. In recent years this movement has not only become stronger numerically but also and above all is the protagonist of the most progressive ideas as regards long-term equal regulation of relations between the rich and poor, developed and underdeveloped and between the small and large countries of the world.

Adherence to the Nonaligned Movement and the struggle for the implementation of its aims undoubtedly represents a guarantee of our own autonomy, security and independence, Joze Smole emphasized. He quoted the speech by Edvard Kardelj made in the UN General Assembly in 1949 when the Yugoslav concept of the policy of nonalignment was formulated.

Speaking about the differences in comprehending world socialism, Smole emphasized that contrary to the understanding in the so-called socialist community, we understood socialism as a world process, as a development of relations in each individual country.

As regards topical developments in the world, Joze Smole especially spoke about the events in Poland, emphasizing that the (?present) problem can only be solved by the Polish working class and people, the PZPR and all socialist and democratic forces in Poland without any outside interference. The Polish crisis, he said, showed that in the socialist society the role of the working class must be implemented, that is, that the class and nobody else in its name should decide on its fate.

Apart from the crisis symptoms, which can be noticed in all systems of social reproduction, we must not turn a blind eye to the phenomena of crisis, that is, to the obvious weaknesses in the implementation of our own practice. In the struggle for economic stabilization our ability is also tested as regards further development of our self-managing socialist system and its resistance to some general, world tendencies toward crisis and also to our own shortcomings and aspirations, Smole emphasized.

As regards cooperation with communist and socialist parties in neighboring and other countries, Smole said that as far as the League of Communists of Slovenia is concerned the only possible basis for any cooperation is full equality, mutual respect noninterference in internal affairs and the starting point that every party is responsible to its own working class and people.

Assessing the struggle for a new international economic order, he said that this struggle is the essence of the entire activity of communists. In this connection, he made the critical observation that the results of the links between Slovene associated labor and the developing countries are not satisfactory and do not correspond to the declared openness to the world.

In their revolutionary struggle for social transformation, the Slovene communists have always treated the Slovene national question and international relations in the Yugoslav community with great attention, Joze Smole said. Caring for Slovene national minorities in the neighboring countries is therefore understandable. In spite of great endeavors concerning these questions, we still cannot be satisfied with the inclusion of these problems in various forms of cooperation between the SFRY and the Socialist Republic of Slovenia on one side and the neighboring countries on the other. In developing this cooperation, we are still encountering phenomena of bureaucratization and the treatment of these problems in narrow circles. The acute problems of rights of the Slovene national minorities, which are determined by international agreements, are still not included in a sufficiently efficacious manner in the international activity of Yugoslavia and Slovenia, Joze Smole said in conclusion.

CALENDAR MAP OMITTING SERBIA'S BORDERS BANNED

LD161622 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0959 GMT 16 Apr 82

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Apr (TANJUG) -- The District Public Prosecutor's Office in Belgrade has ruled that the circulation of the Statistical Calendar of Yugoslavia for 1982 be temporarily banned. At the same time, it was proposed that the Belgrade District Court adopt a decision permanently banning the circulation of this calendar. This edition of the Federal Statistics Institute of Yugoslavia contains the political map of the SFRY but the Socialist Republic of Serbia is not marked on it. Neither are the unified borders of its territory. This has caused public reaction and alarm.

In connection with the latter, the Municipal Public Prosecutor's Office in Belgrade has submitted a request to the investigating judge to establish how it came about that such a map of the SFRY was published in the statistical calendar, whether there is possible criminal responsibility as well as responsibility for the material damage caused by responsible persons.

BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA SAWP VIEWS ASSEMBLY'S WORK

LD191454 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1242 GMT 19 Apr 82

[Text] Sarajevo, 19 Apr (TANJUG) -- The Presidium of the Republican Conference of the SAWP of Bosnia-Hercegovina today adopted the reports on the work of the Republican Assembly and the Executive Council from April 1978 through April 1982 and positively assessed the work of these bodies.

The session noted that the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly worked in the past 4 years in conditions of an exceptionally complex economic and political situation in the world and of considerable domestic difficulties and contradictions. The volume and contents of its work were subject to the demands for faster, more stable and more coordinated development of the republic and the country as a whole, and within these frameworks they were subject to demands for a more efficient solution of problems whic h arose and for the overcoming of unfavorable trends in the socioeconomic development of the republic which appeared in particular in the second half of the mandate of this assembly.

REACTION TO DUSAN POPOVIC INTERVIEW REPORTED

LD170012 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1450 GMT 16 Apr 82

["In Equality No One Is Privileged" -- TANJUG headline]

[Text] Novi Sad, 16 Apr (TANJUG) -- The Novi Sad newspaper DNEVNIK, today carries the text of an interview granted to Zagreb VJESNIK by Dusan Popovic, member of the LCY Central Committee and the Vojvodina League of Communists Provincial Committee Presidium.

DNEVNIK recalls that VJESNIK, the Croatian SAWP paper, published an interview on 8 April in its column "Discussions Before the Congress," that Dusan Popovic, member of the Vojvodina League of Communists Provincial Committee Presidium and LCY Central Committee, had granted to its Novi Sad correspondent, Jovo Paripovic. In connection with this interview, DNEVNIK says that first Belgrade radio and then yesterday the Belgrade newspaper POLITIKA carried commentaries containing arbitrary interpretations and even more arbitrary explanations of the statements made in the interview.

This attitude to VJESNIK's column calls for the appropriate response. However, in view of the behavior of two above-mentioned editorial offices, DNEVNIK considers that it is fitting (POLITIKA surprisingly failed to do so -- TANJUG notation) to acquaint its readers with the complete text, so that they can judge for themselves the motives behind the meaning of such a reaction and compare it with the January conclusions of the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee and other numerous texts published since then in the Yugoslav press and DNEVNIK, DNEVNIK adds in a note attached to the interview.

KRAIGHER CHAIRS ECONOMIC STABILIZATION MEETING

LD192052 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1850 GMT 19 Apr 82

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 19 Apr (TANJUG) -- The commission for economic stabilization problems of the Federal Social Councils met in Belgrade today. The meeting was chaired by Sergej Kraigher, and adopted the document "The Starting Foundations of the Long-term Program of Economic Stabilization." The document contains the basic orientations of the further development of socioeconomic and political relations and the basic directions of the future material and social development of the country. The document also critically examines socioeconomic practice to date, and it notes that some of the basic orientations of our socioeconomic system are either not implemented or that they are applied in a way which is not in line with the constitutional concept.